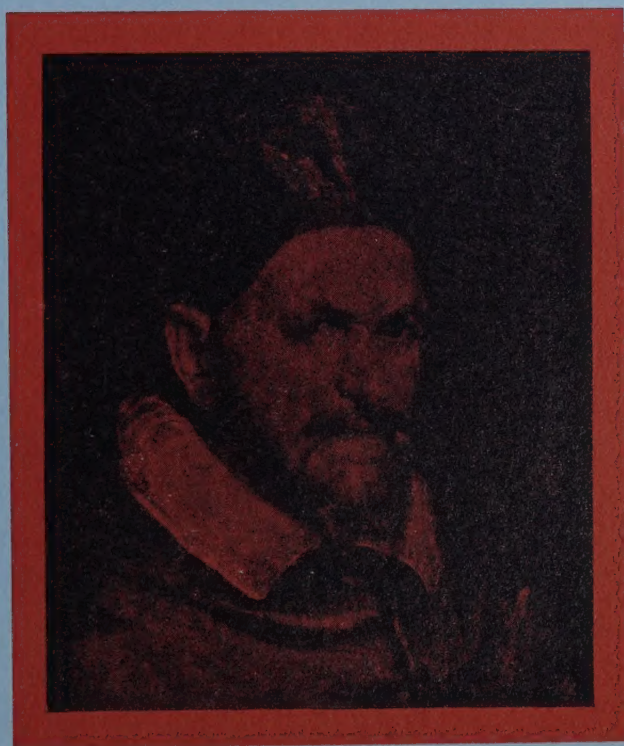


GAZETTE DES BEAUX-ARTS

AUGUST 1945



C O N T E N T S

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SPANISH PAINTINGS IN THE NATIONAL GALLERY OF ART

-I-

EL GRECO TO GOYA

IN the National Gallery of Art in Washington, the greatest artists of Spain are admirably represented by a group of magnificent masterpieces. These comprise no less than sixteen paintings and include works by El Greco, Velázquez, Zurbarán, Murillo, and Goya.¹ An interesting feature of this collection is that it is relatively new, having been established by the late Andrew W. Mellon, and dates only from 1937. It is also noteworthy that in the United States there are more paintings by some of the most outstanding Spanish artists, especially El Greco and Goya, than in any other country outside of Spain itself.

The first of El Greco's pictures to be discussed is the large painting representing the *Virgin with St. Inés and St. Tecla* (Fig. 1), donated with the

1. This article is the summary of a lecture delivered at the National Gallery of Art, in December, 1943, at Washington, D. C. I am deeply indebted to several good friends who have had the courtesy to read my manuscript and who have made many excellent suggestions, such as: DR. JOSÉ LÓPEZ-REY, of Smith College; DR. A. PHILIP McMAHON, of New York University; MR. MARTIN S. SORIA, of Princeton University; Miss ROSALIND ROWAN, and MR. HERBERT WEISSBERGER, of New York University.

Widener Collection.² The Madonna, enthroned among clouds and holding the nude golden-haired Infant on her lap, occupies the center of the composition. She wears a rich red robe, blue mantle and white lace head-dress. The Child, with his right hand, clasps the index finger of his Mother's right hand. They are attended by two youthful angels, one in rose and the other in green, in adoration on either side of the holy group, and above hover heads of cherubs. Below are two female saints. On the left, St. Tecla, in pale blue and with a golden cloak, supports a palm leaf, while her right hand rests on a lion's head. On the right, St. Inés, clad in bright scarlet, holds a lamb. The picture is signed with initials on the forehead of the lion.³

This and the following picture, as well as two others, were painted by El Greco between the years 1597 and 1599 for the chapel of San José, situated in the center of Toledo.⁴ The chapel, founded in 1568 by Martín Ramírez, a rich Toledo merchant, was dedicated December 26, 1594. On November 9, 1597, El Greco agreed to paint for Dr. Martín Ramírez, a nephew of the founder, a *St. Joseph*; a *St. Martin*, the donor's patron saint, and the *Virgin accompanied by St. Inés and another saint*. The final commission was given December 21, 1597.

2. No. 622. H. $76\frac{1}{8}$ x W. $40\frac{1}{2}$ in. (1.93 x 1.03).

3. This and the following painting of *St. Martin* were sold by the authorities of the Chapel of San José, Toledo, late in 1906, to a firm of art dealers in Paris, from whom Mr. Widener purchased them. The legality of the sale of the pictures by the authorities of the chapel was the subject of an inquiry in the Spanish Chamber of Deputies, but was subsequently established. BIBLIOGRAPHY: MRS. JACK HENNIKER-HEATON, in: BRYAN, *Dictionary of Painters and Engravers*, new ed., 1905, V, S-Z, pp. 167-168; PAUL LAFOND, *Domenikos Theotocopuli dit Le Greco* in: "Les Arts", Paris, no. 58, October, 1906, pp. 1-32; IDEM., in: "Gazette des Beaux-Arts", November, 1906, pp. 382-392; M. B. COSSÍO, *El Greco*, Madrid, 1908, pp. 303, 588, no. 241, pls. 45, 45a, 45b; A. F. CALVERT AND C. G. HARTLEY, *El Greco*, London, 1909, p. 122, pl. 95; C. H. CAFFIN, *Story of Spanish Painting*, New York, 1910, pp. 85, 87; M. BARRÈS AND P. LAFOND, *Le Greco*, Paris, 1910, p. 37; PAUL LAFOND, *El Greco*, Paris, pl. 7; FRANCISCO DE BORJA DE SAN ROMÁN Y FERNÁNDEZ, *El Greco en Toledo*, Madrid, 1910, pp. 157-158; H. KEHRER, *Die Kunst des Greco*, München, 1914; A. L. MAYER, *El Greco*, München, 1916, p. 56, pl. 35; *Pictures in the Collection of P. A. B. Widener*, Philadelphia, 1916, *Spanish School*, pl. 26; *Catalogue of Paintings in Lynnewood Hall in the Collection of Joseph Widener*, Elkins Park, 1923, pl. 13; A. L. MAYER, *Domenico Theotocopuli, El Greco*, München, 1926, pl. 33, no. 35; FRANCISCO DE BORJA DE SAN ROMÁN Y FERNÁNDEZ, *De la vida del Greco (Nueva serie de documentos inéditos)*, in: "Archivo Español de Arte y Arqueología", Madrid, May-Aug., 1927, no. 8, pp. 139-195, Sept.-Dec., 1927, no. 9, pp. 275-339; E. H. DEL VILLAR, *El Greco en España*, Madrid, 1928, pp. 23-25, 102-103, pl. 11; F. V. P. RUTTER, *El Greco*, London, 1930, pp. 51, 95, pl. 82; LUDWIG GOLDSCHIEDER, *El Greco*, New York, Phaidon ed., Oxford University Press, 1934, *Introd.*, p. 15, pl. 117; M. LEGENDRE AND A. HARTMANN, *Domenico Theotocopuli, dit El Greco*, Paris, Hyperion, 1937, p. 133; E. WALDMANN, *Die Sammlung Widener*, in: "Pantheon", XXII, Nov., 1938, p. 340; HANS TIETZE, *Masterpieces of European Painting in America*, New York, 1939, pl. 7; JANE W. WATSON, *The Widener Gift*, in: "Magazine of Art", Nov., 1940, pp. 607-608; *Works of art from the Widener Collection, National Gallery*, *Introduction* by DAVID E. FINLEY AND JOHN WALKER, Washington, 1942, p. 622; LUIS AMADOC SANCHÉZ, *El Greco*, Buenos Aires, 1943, p. 93; JUAN DE LA ENCINA, *Domenico Greco*, Mexico, 1944, pp. 209-219; *Masterpieces of painting from the National Gallery of Art*, ed. by H. CAIRNS AND J. WALKER, Washington, 1944, pp. 76-77. (N.B.: HANNAH LYNCH, Toledo, 1898, p. 210; "Forma," Barcelona, 1907, II, p. 445.)

4. CONDITION: The canvas has been relined. The principal figures are in excellent condition with the exception of the mantle of St. Inés, in which there are some repaintings. The sky surrounding the Madonna shows evidence of having been overcleaned and restored. Restoration is visible in the heads of the cherubs. The orange pigment in the mantle of St. Inés is repaint, probably of the early XIX Century, and was not removed, as the underlying original surface had suffered heavily from overcleaning. X-ray shadow-graphs revealed that El Greco altered the position of St. Tecla's head, painting out the original head before the paint was sufficiently dry. This resulted in heavy cracks in that part. Areas in the sky which suffered from overcleaning have been restored.

Dr. Ramírez paid for the necessary canvases and the artist completed the works within two years. According to a document dated December 13, 1599, a lawsuit was then in progress because the price asked by El Greco was considered too high by Dr. Ramírez but, to avoid the trouble and expense of continuing the suit, he finally approved the payment to El Greco of 31,328 reales.

In the chapel of San José, the canvas with *St. Joseph* hangs over the central high altar. The saint, portrayed with dignity and restraint, leads the Child, about ten years old; three angels in the clouds, in strange postures, throw roses down upon the pair. Above it, over the central altar, another painting represents the *Coronation of the Virgin*. Over the lateral altar on the epistle side, the *Madonna with Sts. Inés and Tecla* is placed, while above the corresponding altar on the gospel side hangs a portrayal of *St. Martin and the beggar*. A canvas with *St. Francis of Assisi*, on the wall near the *Madonna*, was possibly done at a later period.

These pictures executed for the chapel of San José, like those at Illescas, belong to El Greco's second period and reveal a distinct change in his manner. The years following the *Burial of the Count of Orgaz*, 1584, were very productive, and the artist painted many religious compositions, allegorical scenes, representations of saints and portraits. His reputation was now established and the works done during the last



FIG 1. — EL GRECO, — The Virgin with St. Inés and St. Tecla. — Widener Collection, National Gallery of Art.



FIG. 2.—EL GRECO.—St. Martin and the Beggar.—Widener Collection, National Gallery of Art.

few years of his second Spanish period are among the truest manifestations of his genius. These paintings for San José and Illescas show an increased mastery, a delicacy and tenderness of feeling, a grace and harmony; whereas during his last phase, the mysticism and expressive vehemence progressively increased. In the National Gallery canvas (Fig. 1), the Madonna and saints are drawn with a greater precision and a more tempered imagination than is to be found in his later style. Here the composition is simple and free from crowded elements. Mary, seated in the clouds, is a figure of great beauty and of perfect dignity. El Greco was seldom more inspired than in his portrayal of these lovely women.

Of many of his subjects El Greco made replicas in various sizes. One of these, a shop copy with variations of the Widener picture, is in the collection of Luís Rey, Barcelona.⁵ In addition, the painter employed an arrangement similar to the Madonna and Child of this picture in several versions of the *Holy family*. In

these the Madonna is represented with the Child on her lap reaching for some fruit in a bowl offered by St. Joseph and St. Anne. The example in the Cleveland Museum,⁶ painted for the parish church of Torrejón de Velasco near

5. M. LEGENDRE AND H. HARTMANN, *op. cit.*, pl. 132.

6. "Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art", June, 1941, no. 6, p. 90, pl. 94.

Toledo, greatly resembles that in the Royal Palace in Bucharest.⁷ The latter and one in the Van Horne Collection, Montreal,⁸ are even more closely related. The figures in all of these are very similar to the Madonna and Christ Child in the upper section of the painting in the National Gallery. Mayer dates the Cleveland picture between 1587 and 1596; the Montreal, 1604; and the Bucharest painting, 1600-1603, in the last years of his second period.

One of the most beautiful paintings of the *Holy Family* by El Greco is in the Hispanic Society of America, where the group of Joseph with the Madonna and Child is admirably designed, appealing in its intimacy of feeling and painted in a harmonious scheme of tonalities. Cossío points out that the use of the white mantilla against a luminous background is a charming and effective invention on the part of the artist. He remarks that in its type, execution and tones, it bears a close resemblance to the *Madonna with St. Inés and St. Tecla* in the National Gallery. Mayer considers the picture in the Hispanic Society one of the earliest of the El Greco's *Holy Family* series. It shows a boldness of modelling and an exactness of drawing which El Greco later abandoned, and the flesh is painted more firmly than in his later works. He believes it was executed before 1597, probably in the early nineties, whereas Cossío dates it between 1594 and 1604.⁹

St. Martin and the beggar, presented with the Widener Collection,¹⁰ was another of the paintings commissioned for the chapel of San José in Toledo (Fig. 2).¹¹ St. Martin, a life-size figure on a white charger, rides with his curly yellow hair uncovered. The elaborately patterned suit of armor is richly damascened with gold, and his fashionable ruff and cuffs are starched and pleated. In his left hand, St. Martin holds the bridle, while with his sword he is about to divide

7. L. BACHELIN, *Catalogue de la Collection Royale de Roumanie*, Paris, 1898, no. 165; M. B. COSSÍO, *op. cit.*, no. 363; A. L. MAYER, *op. cit.*, München, 1926, p. 8, no. 28; p. 7, no. 26, 27, illus.; A. L. BUSUIOCEANU, *Les Tableaux de Greco dans la Collection Royale de Roumanie*, in: "G. B. A.," May, 1934, pp. 299, 300.

8. A. L. MAYER, *Paintings by El Greco in America*, "Art in America", Aug., 1916, pp. 248-253, fig. 3.

9. COSSÍO, *op. cit.*, p. 327, no. 308, pls. 54, 54a; A. L. MAYER, *ibid.*, pp. 248-253; ELIZABETH DU GUÉ TRAPIER, *Catalogue of Paintings (16th, 17th, and 18th centuries) in the Coll. of the Hisp. Soc. of America*, New York, 1929, pp. 78-80.

10. No. 621: H. 76 $\frac{1}{8}$ x W. 40 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. (1.93 x 1.03).

11. See: H. LYNCH, *op. cit.*, p. 209; MRS. JACK HENNIKER-HEATON, *op. cit.*, 1905, V. S-Z, pp. 167-168; PAUL LAFOND, *op. cit.*, "Les Arts", no. 55, October, 1906, pp. 1-32; IDEM., in: "G. B. A.," November, 1906, pp. 382-392; "Forma", *op. cit.*, p. 444; M. B. COSSÍO, *op. cit.*, pp. 304, 588, pl. 46; A. F. CALVERT AND C. G. HARTLEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 123-124, pl. 94; C. H. CAFFIN, *op. cit.*, p. 87; F. DE B. DE SAN ROMÁN Y FERNÁNDEZ, *op. cit.*, Madrid, 1910, pp. 157-158; H. KEHRER, *op. cit.*, 1914; M. BARRÈS AND P. LAFOND, *op. cit.*, Paris, 1910, p. 143; P. LAFOND, *op. cit.*, Paris, pl. 8; A. L. MAYER, *op. cit.*, München, 1916, p. 56, pl. 40; *Widener . . .*, *op. cit.*, Philadelphia, 1916, pl. 27; *Widener . . .*, *op. cit.*, Elkins Park, 1923, pl. 12; A. L. MAYER, *op. cit.*, München, 1926, pl. 48, no. 297; IDEM., *An El Greco in America*, in: "Burl. Mag.", London, 1927, p. 284; F. DE B. DE SAN ROMÁN Y FERNÁNDEZ, *op. cit.*, in: "Arch. Esp. de Arte y Arqueol.", May-August, 1927, no. 8, pp. 139-195; September-December, 1927, no. 9, pp. 275-339; F. V. P. RUTTER, *op. cit.*, London, 1930, pp. 62-63, 98; F. J. MATHER, JR., *Estimates in Art*, New York, 1916, p. 79; FRANK G. GRISWOLD, *El Greco*, privately printed, 1930, p. 41; AUGUST L. MAYER, *El Greco*, Berlin, 1931, pp. 103-104, pl. 105; LUDWIG GOLDSCHIEDER, *op. cit.*, p. 15, pl. 116; M. LEGENDRE AND A. HARTMANN, *op. cit.*, pl. 459; E. WALDMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 337; HANS TIETZE, *op. cit.*, pl. 6; JANE W. WATSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 607-608; JUAN DE CONTRERAS, MARQUÉS DE LOZOYA, *Historia del arte hispánico*, Barcelona, 1945, p. 46, fig. 35; *Widener Collection . . .*, *op. cit.*, p. 62; J. DE LA ENCINA, *op. cit.*, pp. 216-218; RAYMOND ESCHOLIER, *Greco*, Paris, 1937, p. 99; L. A. SÁNCHEZ, *op. cit.*, p. 105; A. L. MAYER, *St. Martin with the Beggar*, in: "Apollo", Sept., 1929, p. 15.

his green mantle and share it with the nearly nude beggar partly concealed by its folds. The latter, standing at the left, grasps his portion of the garment. Through the legs of the horse may be seen a beautiful panorama of the city of Toledo with mountains beyond, silhouetted against a tempestuous sky with masses of clouds. A full signature in Greek letters appears at the bottom on the right.

The slender and handsome youth on his white steed is supposed, by some critics, to be a portrait of El Greco's son, Jorge Manuel Theotocopuli. The treatment is still largely naturalistic but the delicately rounded forms in the foreground dominate the landscape background in the distance. The pale greens, carmines, yellows and whites are fused by the silvery grays which envelop the entire composition. The contours of light impart an ethereal and dream-like quality to the lovely landscape which had also been the inspiration of Santa Teresa, the other great mystic of Toledo, at that time. The balanced rhythm of design is enhanced by the artist's rapid brushwork and dramatic handling of light. This bold concentration of vision and presentation results in a maximum intensity of feeling and expression. Superb in quality, everything tends to build up a single vividly apprehended unity.

A smaller version of *St. Martin and the beggar* from the Mellon Collection (Fig. 3)¹² repeats the arrangement of the preceding painting. Here the design is more incisive and the color more brilliant. The forms are built up more boldly with larger patches of pigment than in the earlier rendering. Light and shade are used arbitrarily for emphasis. The whole composition¹³ is cut sharply into two main planes, the figures in the foreground and the hilly landscape behind them, thus achieving a decorative Byzantine effect. The rich greens of the saint's mantle are echoed in the background, landscape punctuated by buildings and hill-tops which give a staccato vivacity to the handling. The luminosity of the

12. No. 84; H. 41 x W. 23½ in. (1.04 x 0.60).

13. CONDITION: This picture was relined recently. The painted surface generally is in excellent condition except for local damage. It had been covered by a moderately heavy and unevenly distributed varnish. During removal of the varnish it became obvious that at some time in the past an attempt had been made to clean the picture. Where the solvent had broken through to the painted surface, the resulting change forced the restorer to tone down these areas—the body of the horse, the figure of the Beggar, and the collar and cuffs of St. Martin. A *pentimento* exists on the breast of the Beggar and this was smoothed over to make it less disturbing.—COLLECTIONS: The number 387, in white, on the lower right corner, indicates that this picture may once have belonged to King Philip IV of Spain. Later it was in the collections of Michel Manzi (1849-1918), French publisher and founder of "Les Arts". Acquired in Paris in 1929; Mellon Collection, 1937. EXHIBITIONS: *Art ancien espagnol*, Paris, Galerie Charpentier, 1925; *Sixteen Masterpieces*, Knoedler's Galleries, New York, 1930, no. 13. BIBLIOGRAPHY: PAUL LAFOND, *op. cit.*, in: "Les Arts", Oct., 1906, p. 22; M. B. COSSÍO, *op. cit.*, pp. 330, 600, no. 309, pl. 47; M. BARRÈS AND P. LAFOND, *op. cit.*, p. 137; A. L. MAYER, *op. cit.*, in: "Apollo", Sept., 1920, p. 151; ERNEST BÉNÉZIT, *Theotocopuli*, in: *Dict. crit. et document. des peintres*, Paris, 1924, III, p. 881; JEAN CHARPENTIER, *Exposition d'art ancien espagnol*, Paris, Galerie Charpentier, 1925; "L' Art et les artistes", June, 1925, pp. 293-300; A. L. MAYER, *op. cit.*, München, 1926, p. 48, no. 299; "La Revue de l' Art", Nov., 1926, p. 299 (Bulletin); EMILIO H. DEL VILLAR, *El Greco en España*, Madrid 1928, p. 103; MRS. JACK HENNIKER-HEATON, *op. cit.*, V, p. 168; "La Revue de l'Art," no. 720; July-Aug., 1925, p. 229 (Bulletin); F. V. P. RUTTER, *op. cit.*, pp. 63, 98, no. 80, pl. LXX; *A loan exhib. of Sixteen Masterpieces*, New York, 1930, p. 29, no. 13; "International studio," Jan., 1930, p. 58; M. LEGENDRE AND A. HARTMANN, *op. cit.*, no. 463; *Preliminary cat. of paint., and sculpture*, National Gallery of Art, Washington 1941, pp. 92-93.

windy sky is accentuated by the dark torn clouds and patches of blues. This version is admirably painted and was considered by Cosío as one of the best of all. It was probably El Greco's latest treatment of this theme, done during his last period (1604-1614). The Widener painting seems to have been the earlier, and a comparison of the similarities and differences of the two gives considerable insight into the trend of his development.

Certain features of the landscape of Toledo¹⁴ are clearly indicated. The circular object below the raised hoof of the horse in the Mellon, as well as in the Widener example, is a realistic touch of local color. This was the water-wheel constructed for Charles V by the famous Italian engineer Joanello. It pumped water from the Tajo to the Alcázar for the fifty or so years of its existence. This detail and its relation to the horse obviously reflect El Greco's admiration for the design of Donatello's *Gattamelata*.

El Greco frequently repeated his themes with variations. Francisco Pacheco of Seville, the father-in-law of Velázquez, after his visit to Toledo in 1611, states that El Greco had shown him a number of clay models which he had made and which he used for his works. But what Pacheco¹⁵ especially admired was that El



FIG. 3. — EL GRECO. — St. Martin and the Beggar. — Mellon Collection, National Gallery of Art.

14. ANTONIO PONZ, *Viaje por España*, Madrid, 1776, I, letter 3, nos. 46-48; MAURICE BARRÈS, *Greco ou le secret de Tolède*, Paris, 1912, pp. 39-40, 179.

15. FRANCISCO PACHECO, *Arte de la Pintura*, Seville, 1649, p. 337.

Greco had made smaller copies of all his original creations. These he kept in a room to which his son admitted Pacheco. Apparently the legend of St. Martin had a peculiar appeal for a land so whole-heartedly devoted to the chivalresque ideal as was Spain of that day. One of the Greco paintings of *St. Martin* in the Royal Collection in Bucharest¹⁶ shows the saint as a figure of child-like grace. The handling of color is sober, a white, black and silvery-gray tonality opposed to the blue-green of the background. In composition this unsigned picture and the Widener example are so much alike (Fig. 2), that it may have been done soon afterward, in 1599. Another close variant in the Charles Deering Collection is now owned by Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey McCormick, of Chicago.¹⁷

That El Greco popularized the theme is indicated by a *St. Martin* in the collection of Robert Treat Paine, II, in Brookline, Massachusetts. This painting is wider in proportion to its height than the others. At the right stands an obelisk surmounted by a ball, and at the left there is a broken tree-trunk with a fragment of foliage branching from it. The contour of the head of the rider is somewhat changed and the flesh tones are darker. There are striking oppositions of black and white in the horse and trappings; the hues are contrasted without transition and the subject is now highly dramatized. Both Miss Trapier and Mayer believe this to be a school piece by El Greco's son, Jorge Manuel Theotocopuli.¹⁸ The tree is quite similar to that found in his documented works and the emphasis on an architectural feature as the obelisk is also characteristic.

Before completing our discussion of the representation of *St. Martin*, it is interesting to speculate on the possible source or inspiration of El Greco for this subject. It is quite probable that the topic was suggested by an artist of the school of Venice, where El Greco worked before coming to Spain. In the *St. Martin* drawing by Tintoretto, now in the Uffizi Gallery, Florence (No. 13009),¹⁹ the horse is also shown in the frontal or diagonal position, although in this sketch the beggar lies on the ground. Rubens may have copied this study by Tintoretto, since his *Portrait of the Duke of Lerma*, now in the Countess Garcia Collection, in Madrid,²⁰ shows the horse in the same position; or he may have

16. L. BACHELIN, *op. cit.*, no. 168, fig. 4; M. B. COSSÍO, *op. cit.*, no. 366; VALERIAN VON LOGA, in: "Zeits. f. bild. Kunst", 1911-12, pp. 213-218; A. L. MAYER, *op. cit.*, München, 1926, p. 48, no. 298a, see also: nos. 297, 298, 298b, 299; IDEM., *op. cit.*, Berlin, 1931, pp. 103-104; A. L. BUSUIOCEANU, *op. cit.*, in: "G. B. A.", May, 1934, p. 298; ROSAMUND FROST, *A galaxy of great El Greco's in Paris*, in: "Art News", August 14, 1937, pp. 9, 10, 24; DOMENICO THEOTOCOPIULI *El Greco, Exp. organisée par la "Gaz. des B.-Arts"*, Catalogue, Paris, 1937, p. 4.

17. H. 46¾ x W. 24½ in. Signed in Greek. COLLECTIONS: Marqués de Perinat, Madrid; Charles Deering Collection; lent by Mr. and Mrs. Chauncey McCormick, Chicago, to the Art Institute of Chicago, 1922-30, and exhibited at the *Century of Progress Exhibition*, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1933, no. 176; BIBLIOGRAPHY: "Bulletin of the Art Institute of Chicago", March 1924, no. 3, p. 29 (repr.), pp. 32-33; A. L. MAYER, *op. cit.*, 1926, p. 48, no. 298; F. V. P. RUTTER, *op. cit.*, London 1930, pp. 62, 98, no. 78, pl. LXIX.

18. AUGUST L. MAYER, *op. cit.*, in: "Burl. Mag.", May, 1927, p. 284; ELIZABETH DU GUÉ TRAPIER, *The son of El Greco*, in: "Notes Hispanic", New York, III, 1943, p. 25, fig. 13.

19. FREIHERR VON HADELN DETLEV, *Zeichnungen des Giacomo Tintoretto*, Berlin, 1922, pl. 14.

20. FELIX BOIX, *Retrato ecuestre del Duque de Lerma, pintado por Rubens*, in: "Arte español", 1924, año XIII, tomo VII, 2, pl. 1.

seen one of El Greco's representations of this subject. It is also possible that El Greco may have been inspired by an earlier Spanish version, since a very similar composition executed by an artist of the school of Pedro de Campaña, now hangs in the church of Santa Ana, in Seville (Fig. 4). In this latter rendering, however, St. Martin stands on the right of the advancing horse.

Another painting by El Greco at the National Gallery represents the venerable *St. Ildefonso*, Archbishop of Toledo, visible through an arched doorway (Fig. 5).²¹ Seated at a writing table draped with red velvet, he holds a pen in his raised right hand, while with his left he indicates a passage that he has just written. The table is covered with books and writing utensils, and behind him a finial of his chair adds a decorative touch. He wears a gray-blue *mozetta* over a white surplice. The head in profile is turned to the right, toward the source of the saint's inspiration, a statue of the Madonna and Child placed against the wall. At the lower left is a fragmentary Greek inscription, apparently a signature.²²

This is a smaller version of the painting in the church of the Hospital de la Caridad, founded by Ildefonso at Illescas, half-way between Madrid and Toledo. The Illescas paint-



FIG. 4.—School of Pedro de Campaña.—*St. Martin and the Beggar*.—Santa Ana, Seville. Photo, Archivo Mas.

21. No. 83; H. $44\frac{3}{4}$ x W. $25\frac{3}{4}$ in. (1.12 x 0.65). CONDITION: In Cossío's time the picture was dark and dirty, due to bad varnishes. Cossío does not mention the signature which probably appeared when the picture was cleaned. Originally the painting was archshaped, like that at Illescas. Later additions made it appear rectangular in shape. The repaint has now been removed, so that the picture is again in its original state.

22. COLLECTIONS: Bought about 1860 from a dealer in Madrid by Zacharie Astruc (1835-1907), French sculptor and painter of Angers (Maine-et-Loire); then acquired for ten francs by Jean François Millet (1814-1875), noted Barbizon artist, and sold in 1894 in Paris by his widow, Catherine L. Millet. It was purchased by Edgar Degas (1834-1917), French leader of the Impressionist school, from whose collection it was obtained in 1918; Mellon Collection, 1937. EXHIBITIONS: *Paintings by Old Masters*, Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute, 1925, no. 21; *Spanish Paintings from El Greco to Goya*, New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1928, no. 31; *Century of Progress Exhibition*, Chicago, Art Institute of Chicago, 1933, no. 175. BIBLIOGRAPHY: *Catalogue de la Succession de Madame Veuve J. F. Millet*, Paris, 1894, no. 261; PAUL LAFOND, *op. cit.*, in: "Les Arts", Paris, October, 1906, p. 22; M. B. COSSÍO, *op. cit.*, pp. 334, 598-599, no. 299; A. F. CALVERT AND C. G. HARTLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 126; HAMILTON E. FIELD, *The Arts*, New York, 1920, I, p. 7; ERNEST BÉNÉZIT, *op. cit.*, III, p. 881; *Paintings by old masters from Pittsburgh Collections*, Pittsburgh, Carnegie Institute, 1925, no. 21; AUGUST L. MAYER, *op. cit.*, Munich, 1926, p. 46, no. 287, pl. LXIII; BRYSON BURROUGHS, *Spanish Painting from El Greco to Goya*, New York, Metropolitan Museum, 1928, p. 5, no. 31; F. V. P. RUTTER, *op. cit.*, p. 96; no. 67; *Catalogue of a century of progress exhibition of paintings and sculpture*, Chicago, The Art Institute of Chicago, 1933, p. 27, no. 175; LUDWIG GOLDSCHIEDER, *El Greco*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1934, pl. 181. M. LEGENDRE AND A. HARTMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 29, no. 433; National Gallery of Arts, *Preliminary catalogue . . .*, 1941, p. 92.



FIG. 5. — EL GRECO. — St. Ildefonso. — Mellon Collection, National Gallery of Art.

what was to become the outstanding characteristic of the Spanish church. His popularity was greatest in the late XVI and throughout the XVII Century, when all Spain was passionately devoted to the cult of the Virgin. This is reflected in paintings by artists of the time, such as Velázquez, Caxes, Orrente, Rubens, Murillo, and Rizi.

ing may have been commissioned from El Greco in honor of the miraculous statue of the Virgin, kept in a little hermitage near the Hospital de la Caridad and believed to be one cherished with special devotion by Ildefonso in his Oratory in Toledo.

The person portrayed, Saint Ildefonso, the learned Abbot of Aglia on the outskirts of the city, became Archbishop of Toledo in 657. Not long after his death in 667, he was honored as a saint, and by the X Century, his cult had spread to France. The book on which his fame rests is the *Liber de Virginitate Beatae Mariae*.²³ This treatise on the Virgin gave rise to many legends connected with the worship of Ildefonso. One of these affirms that he received a celestial chasuble from the hands of the Madonna in Toledo and that he actually wrote his books there from her dictation. His zealous devotion to the Blessed Virgin anticipates the piety of St. Bernard and foreshadows

23. FRANCISCO DE PISA, *Descripción de la imperial ciudad de Toledo*, Toledo, 1617, II, ch. 24; J. P. MIGNE, *Patrologiae cursus completus series latina*, XCVI, Paris, 1851, pp. 10-328; *Acta Sanctorum*, Brussels, 1863, III, reprint, pp. 149-153; A. BRAEGELMANN, *The life and writings of Saint Ildefonsus of Toledo*, Washington 1942.

Of Ildefonso, another visionary, El Greco would seem to have had an intuitive understanding, and his conception of the venerable patron saint of Toledo shows both insight and sympathy with his exaltation of spirit. In its power of characterization this rivals the great portrait of the Inquisitor, *Niño de Guevara*, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York. The mood is thoroughly Spanish in its sobriety and complete absence of exaggeration. The color scheme is darker and more subdued than in the pictures done for the chapel of San José shortly before. Both the draughtmanship and execution are very fine. François Millet, the artist, who formerly owned the painting, said during his last illness: "There is a picture little appreciated, by an artist who is hardly known. Well, I know few pictures which mean so much to me; I need not say more; the man had to have great depth of feeling to execute such a work."

An earlier religious picture by El Greco is the figure of *St. Jerome in the wilderness*, recently donated by Chester Dale (Fig. 6).²⁴ Here the hermit saint half kneels before the entrance to his cave. A shaggy gray beard supplements the scanty attire of the gaunt body. In his right hand he clasps the stone with which he castigates himself. His head turns from his meditations upon the holy book before him toward the light that streams down upon him from the heavens. The painting was done about 1594 and left unfinished and unsigned.²⁵

This unique version of the St. Jerome theme is recorded in the second inventory of El Greco's estate. The inventory of the household goods of Jorge Manuel, son of El Greco, was made on the occasion of the son's second marriage, August 7, 1621. Under number 145 it lists as unfinished, "*un San Jerónimo desnudo de dos baras de alto y bara y quarto de ancho*."

St. Jerome marks a climax in El Greco's expression of religious fervor. A drawing in the collection of Mr. Otto Gutekunst, London, may have been a preliminary study for it. The pose of the legs recalls that of the *St. Sebastian* in the cathedral of Palencia,²⁶ dating from between 1577 and 1580, and of the kneeling Christ in the various versions of the *Baptism of Christ*, executed during the last period, in the hospital of San Juan, Toledo,²⁷ the Prado Museum,²⁸ and in

24. No. 743; H. 66¼ x W. 43½ in. (1.68 x 1.10). CONDITION: At some time this painting had been enlarged by the addition of canvas strips at top, bottom and on the right side, so that it measured 2.10 x 1.20 cm. These have been removed and it is now as El Greco originally designed it.

25. COLLECTIONS: Marqués de Castro Leruna, Madrid; Chester Dale Collection, 1943, no. 83. EXHIBITIONS: El Greco Exhibition, Madrid, 1902, no. 55; *Exposición de cuadros del Greco*, Madrid, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Fernando, 1909, no. 43. BIBLIOGRAPHY: PAUL LAFOND, *op. cit.*, in: "Les Arts", Paris, Oct., 1906, p. 26; M. B. COSSIO, *op. cit.*, Madrid, 1908, pl. 71, no. 113; A. F. CALVERT AND C. G. HARTLEY, *op. cit.*, p. 153, pl. 58; F. DE B. DE SAN ROMÁN Y FERNÁNDEZ, *El Greco en Toledo*, Madrid, 1910; A. L. MAYER, *op. cit.*, Munich, 1926, p. 45, no. 281; M. LEGENDRE AND A. HARTMANN, *op. cit.*, p. 437; F. DE B. DE SAN ROMÁN Y FERNÁNDEZ, *op. cit.*, in: "Arch. Esp. de Arte y Arqueol.", May-Aug., 1927, no. 9, pp. 82, 275-339, and note on p. 300; "The Art News," Jan. 31, 1931, repr. on cover; *IBID.*, February 28, 1931, p. 4.

26. AUGUST L. MAYER, *op. cit.*, Munich, 1926, no. 300, illus.

27. *IBID.*, no. 40, illus.

28. *IBID.*, no. 38, pl. 27.

the Corsini Gallery, Rome.²⁹ In these late paintings there is less Italian influence and more of the ecstatic splendor of his own brilliant and original genius.

Undoubtedly the most impressive painting by Velázquez in the National Gallery is the portrait of *Pope Innocent X* (Fig. 7), bequest of Mr. Mellon.³⁰ It was painted in 1650 during Velázquez' second visit to Italy and was a preliminary life-study for the great portrait in the Doria Pamphili Palace in Rome. The Pope is represented at short bust-length, turned toward the right. He is depicted at the age of seventy-six years, with sparse moustache, ragged beard, compressed mouth and prominent ears. He wears a crimson *mozetta* fastened down the front and relieved by a soft, white *golilla* collar. His hair is covered with a crimson silk papal *calotte*. The background is dark, lighted from the right.³¹

Giovanni Battista Pamphili, afterwards Pope Innocent X, was born in Rome in 1574 and became Cardinal in 1629. Through the influence of France and the Barberini, he was chosen to succeed Pope Urban VIII in 1644. He died January 5, 1655, and was followed by Pope Alexander VII.

In the final version, now in the Doria Pamphili palace, the Pope is seated

29. *IBID.*, no. 39, illus.

30. No. 80: H. 19¼ x W. 16½ in. (0.49 x 0.42).

31. COLLECTIONS: Sir Robert Walpole, first Earl of Oxford (1676-1745), Prime Minister of George I and II, Houghton Hall, Norfolk, whose collection descended to his grandson George, third Earl of Oxford (1730-1791) and was sold in 1779 through Baron A. S. Moussine-Poushkin, Russian Ambassador to England, to Catherine II (1729-1796), for the Imperial Hermitage Gallery, St. Petersburg (Leningrad), no. 418, where this portrait remained until 1932; Mellon Collection, 1937; COPIES: *Engraving, in reverse*, by Valentine Green, A.R.A. (1739-1813), after G. Farington's drawing (1774). Etchings by Nicolai Mossoloff (1874-1914), and Hermann Struck. BIBLIOGRAPHY: HORACE WALPOLE, *Aedes Walpolianae: or a Description of the collection of pictures at Houghton Hall in Norfolk, the seat of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Oxford*, London, 1752, p. 67; WILLIAM STIRLING-MAXWELL, *Velazquez and his works*, London, 1855, p. 248 (French ed., Paris, 1865, p. 286, no. 194); BARON B. DE KOEHNE, *Ermitage Impérial: Catalogue de la Galerie des Tableaux*, St. Petersburg, 1863, p. 88, no. 418; 2nd ed., 1869, pp. 147-148, no. 418; CHARLES B. CURTIS, *Velazquez and Murillo*, New York, 1883, p. 77, no. 186; CARL JUSTI, *Diego Velazquez und sein Jahrhundert*, Bonn, 1888, II, p. 191 (English ed., London, 1889, p. 361); ALFRED WHITMAN, *British Mezzotinters; Valentine Green*, London, 1902, p. 55, no. 47; ADOLFO VENTURI, *Catalogue of the Brancaccio Collection*, Rome, 1903, pp. 5-19; ALFRED LYS BALDREY, *Velazquez*, London, 1905, pl. XXIV (2nd ed., 1912, pl. XXX); AURELIANO DE BERUETE Y MORET, *Velazquez*, London, 1906, pp. 86-88, 159 (French ed., Paris, 1898, pp. 120-121, 207); GEORGE C. WILLIAMSON, *The Hermitage Collection at St. Petersburg*, in: "The Connoisseur", 1907, XIX, p. 217; ALBERT F. CALVERT AND C. GASQUOINE HARTLEY, *Velazquez, an account of his life and works*, London, 1908, pp. 114, 218; AURELIANO DE BERUETE Y MORET, *The School of Madrid*, London, 1909, p. 44; BARON NICOLAS WRANGELL, *Les chefs d'oeuvre de l'Ermitage Impérial à St. Petersburg*, Munich, 1909, X, p. 45; A. I. SOMOF, *Ermitage Impérial, catalogue de la galerie des tableaux*, St. Petersburg, 1909, I, p. 189, no. 418; WALTER GENSEL AND VALERIAN VON LOGA, *Velazquez, des Meisters Gemaelde (Klass. d. Kunst.)*, Stuttgart, 1913, p. 264, no. 168; A. L. MAYER, *Geschichte der Spanischen Malerei*, Leipzig, 1913, p. 123; 2nd ed., 1922, p. 414; PIERRE PAUL VON WEINER, *Les chefs d'oeuvre de l'Ermitage à Petrograd*, Munich, 1922, p. 80; A. L. MAYER, *Diego Velazquez*, Berlin, 1924, pp. 141-144, pl. 142; JUAN ALLENDE-SALAZAR, *Velazquez, des Meisters Gemaelde (Klass. d. Kunst.)*, Stuttgart, 1925, pp. 282, 130; HUGO KEHRER, *Spanische Kunst von Greco bis Goya*, Munich, 1926, pp. 132-133; A. V. LUNACHARSKY, *Selected works of art from the fine arts museums of the U. S. S. R.*, Moscow, 1930; A. L. MAYER, *Velazquez*, London, 1936, pl. 138, no. 411; National Gallery of Art, *Preliminary catalogue . . .*, 1941, p. 207, no. 80; *Masterpieces . . .*, *op. cit.*, ed. by H. CAIRNS AND J. WALKER, Washington, pp. 78-79; MARTIN S. SORIA, in: "The Art Bulletin," Sept., 1945; JACINTO OCTAVIO PICON, *Don Diego Velázquez*, Madrid, 1925, p. 171; HUGO KEHRER, *Köpfe des Velazquez*, in: *Estudios eruditos in memoriam de Adolfo Bonilla y San Martín*, Madrid, 1930, II, p. 373; ELÍAS TORMO, *Un resumen de Velázquez*, in: "Bol. Soc. Esp. de Ex.," año XLVIII, Dec., 1940, p. 145; GEORGES GRAPPE, *Velazquez*, Paris 1940, pp. 50-52.

in a large comfortable arm chair. The strong face confronts us with a look in which cunning and a sinister secretiveness are combined, and well illustrates the often-quoted Spanish description of Velázquez' manner: "*no es pintura sino verdad.*" The artist Mengs stated that Velázquez seemed not to paint, but to will his figures onto the canvas.

In regard to the great portrait of Innocent, Palomino affirms that Velázquez had gone to Italy as a master, not as a pupil. He had arrived in Rome with a name for portraiture already established. When the Spanish Ambassador wrote asking his colleague from Tuscany to grant Velázquez lodgings in the Villa Medici for the summer, he mentioned that this painter of the King of Spain was known for his exquisite portrait paintings: "*un pittore del rè venuto qui, che di ritratti al naturale secondo mi si dice, è esquisitissimo.*"³² The Spaniard did not belie his reputation. "*Troppo vero!*" (too true) were the words of Innocent to Velázquez before the finished portrait. However, the Pope was so pleased that he presented the artist with a gold chain and a medallion of himself. Sir Joshua Reynolds proclaimed this the finest portrait he had seen in Rome and copied it. This is interesting as the judgment of a master qualified to speak with some authority on the subject.

The contemporaries of the formidable Innocent describe his ugliness, his coarse, sensual features, red complexion and forbidding expression. The ruddy flesh-tones are realistically portrayed by the artist and the cold glitter of the eyes seems almost to pierce the spectator. In the eyes, the expressive power of the face is concentrated, which makes it one of the most vital which Velázquez ever modeled. His reticence and distinction are already there, as well as the



FIG. 6. — EL GRECO. — St. Jerome in the wilderness. — Chester Dale Collection, National Gallery of Art.

32. J. A. F. ORBAAN, *Notes on Art in Italy: Velazquez in Rome*, in: "Apollo", VI, 1927, p. 28.



FIG. 7. — VELÁZQUEZ. — Pope Innocent X. — Mellon Collection, National Gallery of Art.

ability to suggest latent power behind arrested motion. The portrait shows the keen observation and masterly rendering, as well as the absolute simplicity combined with monumentality, of which the Spaniard was able. The execution is superlatively fine and the technique of a quality which artists generally admit has never been surpassed, revealing the inexhaustibility of artistic resources of Velázquez in his prime.

With reference to the Mellon portrait (Fig. 7), Beruete stated that it served as the study for the grand portrait in the Doria palace. "Painted with the greatest vigor from the living model, it has an intensity of life and expression

which is not to be observed in the one at Rome, notwithstanding the grandeur of the latter, which with good reason passes as the most admirable portrait by Velázquez." He further notes that the Mellon head shows marked differences in the contour of the face and cap, that the cap is the work of a less expert hand and that only the head and throat were painted by Velázquez. About it, there is a spontaneity and freshness and a character which can only be reached in the presence of the living model.³³

Palomino speaks of a study for the Doria portrait which Velázquez kept and took back with him to Spain. In this, Palomino should have been reasonably accurate, for he had access to documents furnished by a pupil of Velázquez, Juan de Alfaro y Gómez. Apparently this study remained in Madrid for years, since several copies of it were made at later periods. Among these was the portrait now in Apsley House, London,³⁴ once in the Royal Palace at Madrid, and seized by the Duke of Wellington after the battle of Vitoria. While the face lacks the accentuation and character of the original portrait, Mayer believes that the excellent quality of this work indicates that it was done by Velázquez. Ceán Ber-

33. A. DE BERUETE Y MORET, *op. cit.*, London, 1906, pp. 86-88.

34. AUGUST L. MAYER, *op. cit.*, London, 1936, p. 96, no. 412, pl. 139.

múdez states that Velázquez had executed a replica to present to the Spanish king. Another, very similar to the Wellington picture but narrower — being cut on both sides — is now in Fenway Court, Boston.³⁵ Other copies are in Italy, England, Spain, and Holland.³⁶ It is interesting to note that the Bolognese sculptor, Alessandro Algardi (1629-1654), made a bronze bust of Innocent X,³⁷ where the Pope wears the same type of cap, *mozetta*, and *gollilla* collar as in the National Gallery portrait.

Another painting by Velázquez³⁸ presented with the Mellon Collection is the *Portrait of a young man*, attractive and very Spanish in appearance (Fig. 8).³⁹ Turned toward the left, his dark eyes meet those of the spectator. He has a slight moustache and chin tuft, and his black hair brushed over the right side of his head, curls over his temples. He wears a grayish tan cloth doublet, slashed at the shoulders, darker gray sleeves and a lace-trimmed *valona* collar. The subdued background reinforces this color scheme harmoniously.



FIG. 8. — VELÁZQUEZ. — Portrait of a young man. — Mellon Collection, National Gallery of Art.

35. *IBID.*, p. 97, no. 414, pl. 140.

36. *IBID.*, no. 415, p. 97, pl. 141; no. 415a, p. 97, pl. 140; no. 416, p. 97; no. 417, p. 98, pl. 140; no. 418, p. 98.

37. *Velázquez, L'oeuvre du maître*, Paris, 1914 (*Classiques de l'art*), p. ix, illus.

38. No. 82: H. 23 $\frac{3}{4}$ x W. 18 $\frac{7}{8}$ in. (0.59 x 0.48).

39. COLLECTIONS: Acquired in 1677 in Madrid by Count Ferd. Bonaventura Harrach (1637-1706), Austrian Ambassador to Spain during the War of Succession, founder of the celebrated Vienna collection, who mentioned it in a document of 1697, as by "Velasco". It descended to Alois Thomas Raymond Harrach, Viceroy of Naples (1728-1731) and remained in the gallery until 1930. After its purchase it was thoroughly cleaned. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ABRAHAM BREDIUS, *A forgotten Velázquez*, in: "Zeits. f. bild. Kunst", 1902, XIII, p. 110; WALTER GENSEL AND V. VON LOGA, *op. cit.*, p. 266, no. 283; GUSTAV GLUECK, *Die Harrachsche Bildengalerie, berühmte Gemälde in Wiener Galerien*, Vienna, 1923, p. 1, no. 23; JUAN ALLENDE-SALAZAR, *op. cit.*, 1925, p. 288, no. 265; *IDEM.*, *Juan Bautista del Mazo*, in: THIEME-BECKER, *Allgemein. Kunst. Lexikon*, Leipzig, 1930, XXIV, p. 301; E. LAFUENTE FERRARI, *Velázquez*, London, Phaidon, 1934, pl. 68; A. L. MAYER, *op. cit.*, London, 1936, p. 91, pl. 131, no. 389; ALFRED M. FRANKFURTER, *New items in the Mellon Collection*, in: "Art News", Feb. 13, 1937, ill.; EDWARD A. JEWELL, *Mellon's gift*, in: "Magazine of Art", Feb., 1937, p. 75; "Fortune", May 1937, p. 137; A. L. MAYER, *Velázquez*, Paris, 1940, pl. 29; *Duveen pictures in publ. coll. of Amer.*, New York 1941, no. 228; HERMANN RITSCHKE, *Katal. d. Erl. Gräfl. Harrachschen Gem. Galerie in Wien*, Vienna 1926, pp. 129-130, no. 333.

This painting was first ascribed to Velázquez by Bredius and later also by Justi, who dated it in his middle period. Mayer considered that it was executed by the artist about 1632. Von Loga judged it a school piece, and Allende-Salazar published it as the masterpiece of the middle period of Juan Bautista del Mazo, the assistant and son-in-law of Velázquez. He declared it to be a *Self-Portrait* of this painter who married Velázquez' eldest daughter, Francisca, and believed the portrait was executed around 1645-1650.

On the basis of style one might be inclined to agree with Bredius, Justi, and especially Mayer, who saw the head after it had been cleaned in 1930. In palette and technique it resembles the type of work done by Velázquez after his first trip to Italy, about 1631-1632, as seen in the *Forge of Vulcan* and the *Coat of many colors*, as well as in other paintings of that period. Acutely observed and finely expressed, the portrait shows the direct approach, the dispassionate and crystal-clear manner employed by Velázquez during the early part of his career in Madrid. It has his discreet harmonies, his knowledge of values and tonalities. The artist is impersonally recording visual impressions in terms of light and color. However, a fact which gives pause for reflection is that this interesting picture has never been definitely attributed to Velázquez without question by a Spanish scholar.

Especially appealing and attractive is the Velázquez of the Mellon Collection entitled *The Needlewoman* (Fig. 9).⁴⁰ This portrays a woman at half-length, seated, and occupied in sewing some material resting on a cushion in her lap. She is dressed in a colored costume, with a square *decolleté* edged with white lace, and a white shawl over her shoulders. Her hair, brushed back from the forehead and falling in curls over the ears, is covered at the back with a small white coif. The background in neutral gray, lighted from the upper right, leaves all the interest concentrated on the figure. The painting is unfinished.⁴¹

This reveals the art of Velázquez at his best, the ease and command he attained in his last period when his mastery was most complete. It was probably painted between 1640-1644, when Velázquez' development was steadily toward a more impressionistic notation, toward placing his models in an atmosphere of light and air without ever losing the structural and monumental quality of drawing which was the basis of his work. Mayer claims, plausibly, that the young woman represented is no other than Velázquez' daughter, Francisca. She was

40. No. 81: H. 29 x 23½ in. (0.73 x 0.60).

41. COLLECTIONS: Marquis de Gouvello Kerlévant, French philanthropist and founder of agricultural orphanages, Château de Kerlévant, Sarzenu, Morbihan (Brittany): Mme. Christiane de Polès, Paris, from whom it was acquired. BIBLIOGRAPHY: ROYAL CORTISSOZ, *Paintings by Velazquez in America*, in: "International Studio", June, 1928, p. 39 (illus.); "The Art News", May 16, 1931, pl. 40; E. LAFUENTE FERRARI, *op. cit.*, pl. 93; AUGUST L. MAYER, *A Portrait by Velazquez, Francisca Velazquez, daughter of the master (The woman sewing)*, Paris, 1935; IDEM., *op. cit.*, London, 1936, p. 132, no. 558, pl. 189; ASSIA RUBINSTEIN, *La collection Mellon*, in: "Beaux-Arts, le Journal des Arts", Jan. 8, 1937, p. 1, ill.; AUGUST L. MAYER, *op. cit.*, Paris, 1940, p. 19, pl. 72.

the elder of the two daughters of the painter and his wife, Juana de Miranda Pacheco, born in Madrid, May 18, 1619. In 1634, at the age of fifteen, Francisca married Juan Bautista del Mazo (1612-1667), the noted pupil of the master whom he succeeded as painter to Philip IV in 1660. Francisca died during her father's lifetime.

If we compare the *Lady with a fan* in the Wallace Collection, London,⁴² which represents the daughter of the artist, Doña Francisca Velázquez del Mazo, with the head of the seamstress, the close similarity between the two would indicate why Mayer has considered this also to be Velázquez' daughter. Mazo's *Family of the artist*, in the Vienna Museum (No 603),⁴³ painted before 1660, shows Francisca surrounded by her several children. Recently, however, Sánchez-Cantón has published an article about Velázquez' mode of life, including an inventory of the effects left by that artist after his death.⁴⁴ One entry in this inventory (No. 169) reads: "*Otra cabeza de una mujer haciendo labor.*" Sánchez-Cantón identifies this picture with the *Needlewoman* in the National Gallery. If he is right, it would prove beyond any doubt that the sitter could not be Francisca Velázquez del Mazo, since Mazo was one of the two persons who made the inventory and it would be surprising if he had not mentioned his first wife. Whoever the lady may have been, she remains one of the most interesting of a period when informal portraits were still comparatively rare. In its hint of a more personal note, the *Needlewoman* is almost unique, and the quiet charm and intimacy are akin in spirit



FIG. 9. — VELÁZQUEZ. — The needlewoman. — Mellon Collection, National Gallery of Art.

42. AUGUST L. MAYER, *op. cit.*, London, 1936, p. 133, no. 559, pl. 190.

43. BERUETE Y MORET, *The School of Madrid*, London, 1909, pp. 96-97.

44. FRANCISCO J. SÁNCHEZ-CANTÓN, *Como vivía Velázquez*, in: "*Archivo Español de Arte*," March-April, 1942, pp. 69-91; with this article a pamphlet was distributed containing the *Inventario de los bienes de Velázquez*.



FIG. 10. — School of Zurbarán. — St. Lucy. — Chester Dale Collection, National Gallery of Art.

to the contemporary painters of Holland.

The style of Zurbarán is represented by the three-quarters figure of *St. Lucy*, the gift of Chester Dale (Fig. 10).⁴⁵ In this devotional picture, the saint turns slightly to the right and gazes toward the observer. Her dark hair is adorned with flowers as well as a nimbus, while a rich necklace lends a worldly touch. Her red-brown bodice reveals an ample white sleeve of the garment beneath. Holding the palm branch of martyrdom in her left hand, she bears in the right a metal tray on which two eyes are displayed. In the upper left corner of the dark background is inscribed her name, *S. Lucia*.⁴⁶

St. Lucy's name, meaning *light*, is symbolized by the two eyes on the plate. This seems to have occasioned the legend of the loss of her eyes and is an instance of an emblematic attribute being understood in a literal sense. According to the story, one of her suitors avowed that he pursued her because her eyes were so beautiful, and St. Lucy, recalling the words, "If thine eye offends thee, pluck it forth," cut out her eyes and sent them to her lover on a dish. The youth, full of remorse, became a Christian, whereupon her eyes were miraculously restored to Lucy.

45. No. 748: H. 41 x W. 30¼ in. (1.04 x 0.77).

46. COLLECTIONS: Paul Somazzi Collection, of Ismir, Turkey; Chester Dale Collection (No. 88); donated in 1943 to the National Gallery.

Zurbarán painted a few single figures of female saints, most of which were produced in the early 1640's. A series of these may still be seen in Seville and several used to hang in the Louvre. The *St. Casilda* in the Prado, and the *St. Elizabeth* in the Van Horne Estate, Montreal, reveal the artist's provincial respect for aristocracy and his conviction that the Virgin Martyrs should be portrayed as fine ladies. Others such as the *St. Apollonia* in the Louvre and the *St. Rufina* in the Hispanic Society of America, show that the artist visualized his feminine saints as worldly ladies elegantly clad in fashionable gold-brocaded costumes. Their sanctity is proclaimed only by their attribute and a nimbus. The *St. Margaret* in the National Gallery in London is dressed as a Sevillian shepherdess, thus bringing the work of Zurbarán close to the heart of his people.

Their portrait-like quality is scarcely accidental, for in a time and country where Infantas were traditionally almost the only ladies to have their portraits painted, and those in the stately and formal attire of the Court, these saints by Zurbarán were probably the first of the less exalted ladies to be portrayed, except as donors. They provide a point of departure for a custom which continued for a century, although even before the time of Goya, it was the fashion for women to be represented in the guise of shepherdesses or goddesses.

Although many feminine saints have been attributed to Zurbarán, probably few of them were actually painted by the master himself but were executed by talented members of his shop. That is true of this *St. Lucy*. While at first glance, the picture seems to have Zurbarán's vigor of draughtsmanship, his rich and vibrant color set against a dark background to produce interesting effects of light and shade, yet the breadth and assurance of handling so characteristic of him, are lacking here. The modeling of the folds and the somewhat expressionless face indicate that this might have been done by a member of Zurbarán's school. Nevertheless, these saintly maidens in their vivid and flower-like costumes form an interesting complement to Zurbarán's famous white-robed monks, and reveal an intriguing glimpse of a less ascetic side of the master's rather austere art.

It is strange that few authentic pictures by Bartolomé Estéban Murillo are found in American collections. Since most of the important collections in the United States were formed during the Impressionist period, when Murillo was no longer in favor, this may possibly account for the small number of his paintings here. However, most of those in this country are of extraordinary significance, such as *A Girl and her duenna*, given with the Widener collection (Fig. 11).⁴⁷ It has also been called *Las gallegas* (The Galician women), in reference to the tradition that the picture represents two notorious Galician courtes-

47. No. 642. H. 49¼ x W. 41½ in. (1.25 x 1.05).



FIG. 11. — Murillo, *A Girl and her Duenna*. — Widener Collection, National Gallery of Art.

sans of Seville.⁴⁸

Two women at a window smile at the spectator. The elder, standing on the left, is partly hidden behind the window, which she holds with her left hand. With her right she presses a fold of her white headkerchief to her mouth. The other girl, in a low white bodice edged with a green band, leans on the window-sill, her cheek resting on her right hand, and looks at the spectator with a rather bold expression. Her hair and the center of her corsage are decorated with red ribbons.

Murillo's kindly spirit was not untouched by humor. His secular subjects are always

pleasing and reveal his enthusiasm for representing the actual life of the

48. COLLECTIONS: Duque de Almadova, Madrid, whose daughters sold it in 1823 to Sir William A'Court (afterward first Baron Heytesbury), British Ambassador to Spain; bought from the successors of Lord Heytesbury (Heytesbury Court, Wiltshire), by Joseph Widener in 1894; Widener Collection, 1942. EXHIBITIONS: British Institution for Promoting the Fine Arts, London, 1828, no. 2; British Institution, 1864, no. 56; Burlington House, London, 1887, no. 114; COPIES: A smaller replica (43 x 39 in.) was presented by a Spanish Grandee to the father-in-law of H. A. J. Munro, of Novar, when he was Consul at Madrid. Offered in the Munro sale, 1878, but not sold. Later in the collection of Mr. Munro-Ferguson, at Novar (Ross-shire). Mezzotint (12 x 11 in.), by John Bromley; Mezzotint (6 x 5 in.), by W. Nichols; engraved in line (9.8 x 8.1 in.), by Joaquín Ballester; engraving on wood by W. G. Mason, in: W. STIRLING-MAXWELL, *Annals of the artists of Spain*, London, 1891, II, p. 920. BIBLIOGRAPHY: G. G. WAAGEN, *Galleries and cabinets of art in Great Britain*, London, 1857, pp. 388-389; C. B. CURTIS, *Velasquez and Murillo*, Boston, 1883, no. 444, p. 288; STIRLING-MAXWELL, *op. cit.*, 1891, II, pp. 920-921; A. L. MAYER, *Murillo (Klass. d. Kunst)*, Stuttgart, 1913, XXII, p. 211; IDEM., *Notes on Spanish pictures in American collections*, in: "Art in America", New York, 1915, III, p. 315; *Widener . . . op. cit.*, Elkins Park, 1916, pl. 30; A. L. MAYER, *Murillo*, in: THIEME-BECKER, *op. cit.*, p. 286; RENÉ BRIMO, *Art et goût*, Paris 1938, mentioned; H. TIETZE, *op. cit.*, New York, 1939, p. 308, pl. 20; *Masterpieces . . . op. cit.*, ed. by H. CAIRNS AND J. WALKER, pp. 80-81; *Works of Art . . . op. cit.*, Introd. by DAVID E. FINLEY AND JOHN WALKER, p. 642. (N.B.: FRANCISCO M. TUBINO, *Murillo, su época, su vida sus cuadros*, Sevilla, La Andalucía, 1864, pp. 226-227; LUIS ALFONSO, *Murillo, el hombre, el artista, las obras*, Barcelona, Cortezo, 1886, p. 205).

Spanish people in his native city of Seville. Spontaneous and animated in conception, this painting also exhibits an admirable draughtsmanship, especially evident in the treatment of the hands. Although somewhat sombre in tone, the breadth and surety of handling enhance the life-like effect. Another example in this country is the charming bust of the *Young girl* in the collection of Jacob Goldschmidt, in New York City (Fig. 12)⁴⁹. She raises her veil and her neck and left shoulder are bare. Like all Murillo's secular productions, it is spontaneous, broad, massively treated and life-like. Most of these secular pictures were executed after his first period, in the more attractive manner he then adopted, and this Widener painting was probably done between 1665 and 1675. Gudiol dates it around 1670. His genre scenes especially are redolent of Seville, just as Murillo in his pleasant naturalism and harmonious coloring seems the embodiment of the spirit of sunny and carefree Andalucía. At times he appears almost to foreshadow the *Costumbrismo* which was to be such a noteworthy feature of early Romanticism.

It is interesting to note that the marvellous collection of Spanish paintings, originally donated to the National Gallery by the late Andrew Mellon, has received magnificent additions in the two pictures from Joseph Widener and the unique *St. Jerome* from Chester Dale. With not less than five important paintings by El Greco, the National Gallery possesses representative examples of the best phases of this artist's style after he came to Spain.

As El Greco in the XVI



FIG. 12. — MURILLO. — Head of a girl. — Jacob Goldschmidt Collection, New York

49. Painted in 1665-1675. Formerly in the collection of Lieutenant-Colonel Sir G. L. Holford in London. Exhibited at the Grafton Galleries, London, 1913-14, no. 106, p. 1. LI.

Century gave shape and substance to the mystic visions of Toledo, the spiritual center of Spain, so Velázquez in the XVII Century observed the world of men in the formal court of Europe and impersonally noted down their ways with a veracity equalled only by its artistry. Portraiture was Velázquez' supreme achievement, and his psychological penetration and his ability to endow his sitters with dignity and aristocratic distinction were his most important contribution. "*Verdad, no pintura*," Velázquez himself said was his ideal and this is well exemplified by the three portraits by this master in the National Gallery.

The school of Seville is represented by two of its greatest masters. Zurbarán was essentially a religious painter and executed many single figures of monks, nuns and saints, an aspect of his art which is illustrated by the school piece of *St. Lucy*. Murillo's *A girl and her duenna* embodies some of his most pleasing characteristics. His ability in depicting genre scenes, street urchins and the daily life of Seville, made him the idol of his contemporaries in Andalusia and one of the most popular artists of the Spanish School.

WALTER W. S. COOK.





FRENCH INFLUENCE ON EARLY AMERICAN ARCHITECTURE

THE bond that our Revolution forged between France and the United States manifested itself in an intellectual entente. In the years following the war, when the national capital was being built, the old colonial cities vastly expanded and new building of every sort undertaken, French architects and engineers were cordially received. They produced a number of works in the style current in France, with interesting American modifications. Notable among these was the plan of the City of Washington by Pierre Charles l'Enfant, the French military engineer. This versatile soldier turned his hand to architecture as well as city planning and produced distinguished designs for the alteration of Federal Hall in New York, for the Morris House in Philadelphia, and for the refurnishing of the chancel of St. Paul's Chapel, New York (Fig. 1). Other Frenchmen working in this country were Joseph François Mangin, who collaborated with John McComb in the design of the New York City Hall, Étienne

Hallet, who was superintendent of construction of the Capitol in Washington, Maximilian Godefroi, architect of St. Mary's Seminary Chapel and the Unitarian Church in Baltimore, and Jacques Joseph Ramée, architect of Union College in Schenectady, New York.¹

In addition to French influence disseminated by architects, there was the further influence of French architectural publications. At present the opinion is that the baroque ornament employed in mid-XVIII Century interior trim (especially in Philadelphia and Charleston) was derived from English books based on French precedent.² However, it is very possible that the designers and craftsmen were working directly from French publications that have not been identified, as yet. A circumstance suggestive of this is the apparent use of a design by Daniel Marot in the plan, façade and dependencies of Mount Pleasant in Philadelphia. This fine mansion, built in 1761, has the very unusual features of a stair hall to the side, and mansard roofs covering the dependencies, both preceded in Marot's design, as is the general design of the façade³ (Figs. 2, 3, 4a and 4b).

There was, however, an earlier and more important French architectural influence that has hitherto passed unnoticed. This originated with the French refugees from religious persecutions, who largely came to this country after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. Such large numbers of Huguenots came, and from such diverse refuges—extending from Scotland to Barbados—that there can be little doubt that they were received in all of the principal settled areas of the American Colonies. Thus the individualities of their building-medium were found over such large areas that to students of today they may seem typical. It is by comparing the structures of early settlements in which the French were dominant, with others outside of such areas, that some idea of their vernacular can be obtained.

That there were other such areas, in addition to Catholic Louisiana and Canada, is not generally realized, but there were many such, including east-central South Carolina, the mid-Rappahannock and James River regions in Virginia, Bergen County in New Jersey, and New Rochelle, Staten Island and New Paltz in New York. The large cities of Boston, New York and Philadelphia received large numbers of refugees—especially New York, where at one time the proclamations were printed in Dutch, French and English.

By far the most important and influential area was that on the South Carolina coast, and it was here that the writer first observed an unusual house-plan which, recalling a similar plan in other areas of French settlement, suggested a peculiar French Colonial idiom. This was the use of a pair of rooms, without a hall, in

1. TALBOT HAMLIN, *Greek Revival architecture in America*, London, Oxford University Press, 1944, pp. 6-7.

2. FISKE KIMBALL, *The domestic architecture of the American colonies and the early Republic*, New York, 1922, pp. 132-138.

3. *Das Ornamentwerk des Daniel Marot*, Berlin, 1892.

the front of the building, with a pair of entrance doorways, side by side and only a few feet apart. Sometimes the plan comprised only this pair of rooms (Fig. 5), but other times they formed the front half of a double tier of rooms (Fig. 9). In the former case the stair ascends in one of the rooms, but in the latter it is in a stair-hall between the two rear rooms.

These two plans are at variance with the usual regional plans of English antecedents but are found in Huguenot communities in South and North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, New Jersey and New York. The duplication of plan prompted an examination for other features that might be common to Huguenot buildings. The simplicity of the earliest (which were the most French) resulted from the conditions under which they were built as well as the need for economy. Thus academic features were

eliminated from all except a few buildings. Such features, if traced back to the homeland or to native style books of the builders, would help immeasurably in identifying the antecedents. However, only one such book has been found with a plate that seems definitely to have influenced the design of an American Huguenot house.⁴ Nevertheless, certain peculiarities show that in interior wood wall-finish and doors, in the laying of brick, and in the framing of roofs, the French colonial builder followed his native tradition.

In all the areas under consideration, wood-lining of walls in early examples often took the form of vertical sheathing overlaid with cleats to resemble paneling, while in English colonial practice either plain sheathing or genuine paneling was used. In brickwork, as yet insufficiently studied, the salient French characteristic seems to be the use of "tumbling" in gables and chimney-stacks (this is the reinforcing of gables and angle offsets with interlaced courses), and the continuing use of "English" bond (which is in reality French) instead of Flemish bond which was almost universally used for walling in America after 1700.

Last, but most significant is the use of the gambrel roof. This latter form is

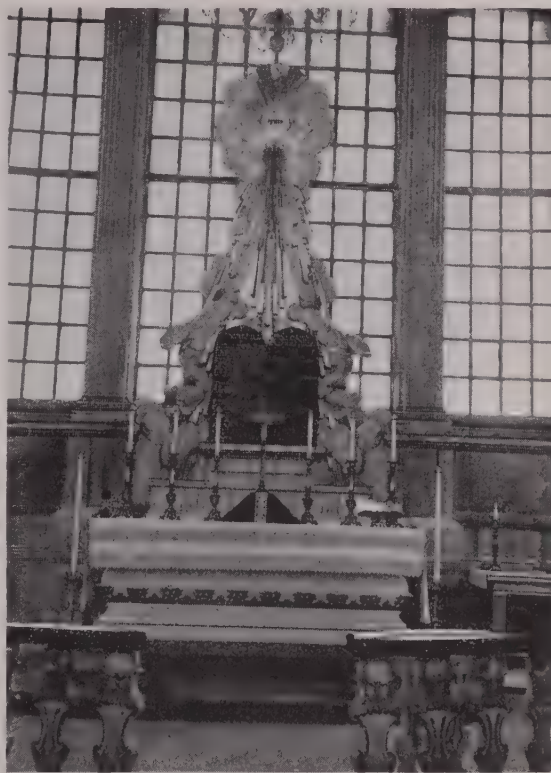


FIG. 1. — The chancel of St. Paul's chapel, New York City. — (Pierre Charles l'Enfant, architect of the fifties). — Photo. Habs.

4. JACQUES ANDROULET (DU CERCEAU), Paris, (2nd ed.) 1607.

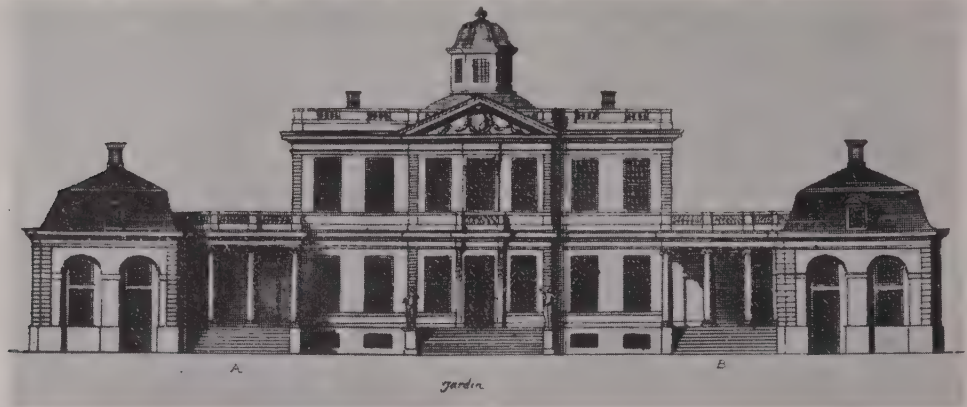


FIG 2. — Daniel Marot. — Façade for a small mansion.

so broadly found, and is generally so much less formalized than in French examples, that it seems never before to have been related to the mansard roof of France. In fact it is usually called a Dutch roof in this country, but a careful examination of the regions in which it was first found in this country, namely regions of French settlement, indicate that it was a Huguenot importation.

The tragic history of the French Protestants of the XVI and XVII Centuries is well known.⁵ During the rising tide of religious persecutions before Henry IV's promulgation of the Edict of Nantes in 1598, large numbers of Huguenots emigrated to the Low Countries, Germany, Switzerland and England. They carried with them the architectural traditions of their homeland, which, especially in the eastern counties of England, strongly influenced the native building forms. However, as they were co-refugees here with their Dutch and Flemish brethren who were fleeing from the Spanish armies, French features lost their true origin and became identified as "Flemish."

The Edict of Nantes, confirmed by Louis XIII's Edict of Nîmes, guaranteed French Protestants freedom of worship and personal safety, but violations of its provisions became more and more frequent up to the Revocation in 1685, by Louis XIV, and vast companies of Huguenots escaped across the French borders. Scholars have estimated the exodus as numbering between 300,000 and 1,000,000 Frenchmen,⁶ and not until Louis XVI's Edict of Toleration in 1787, was the exodus stopped.

The architecture of the emigrés was in a sense a synthesis of French regional architectures. Protestantism was wide-spread in France, so that French *émigré* builders from various provinces contributed their customs to the French colonial

5. HENRY ALGERNON DU PONT, *The story of the Huguenots*, New York, 1920.

6. ARTHUR HENRY HIRSCH, *The Huguenots of South Carolina*, Duke University Press, 1928, p. 1.

style, producing a result certainly distinct from any French prototype. However, a careful study of the building of the great center of French Protestantism, La Rochelle, might produce answers to many problems of origin. Of this region a great scholar said, "That part of western France that lies between the Loire and Gironde Rivers, comprising . . . the seaboard provinces of Poitou, Saintonge and Aunis was inhabited, at the period of the Revocation, by a population largely Protestant. . . . Aunis . . . may be called emphatically the birthplace of American



FIG. 3. — Mount Pleasant (1761), Philadelphia, Pa. — Photo. Wallace.

Huguenots. . . . It was a part of Saintonge, which had been cut off from that province, and appended to the city of La Rochelle."⁷

Attempts at French settlements in America were made in the XVI Century—one below Charleston at Port Royal, and one in 1562 under Jean Ribaut on Parris Island.⁸ However, these came to naught and it was as refugees under English protection that the first French communities on the eastern seaboard of the present United States were made. As early as 1620 a Huguenot, Nicholas Martiau, first American ancestor of George Washington, came to Virginia and settled at Yorktown,⁹ and as the century progressed numbers of his compatriots and co-

7. CHARLES W. BAIRD, *History of the Huguenot emigration*, New York, 1885, pp. 262-264.

8. HIRSCH, *op cit.*, p. 7.

9. "The Huguenot Publications," #10, 1939-40, Richmond, Va., pp. 105-106.

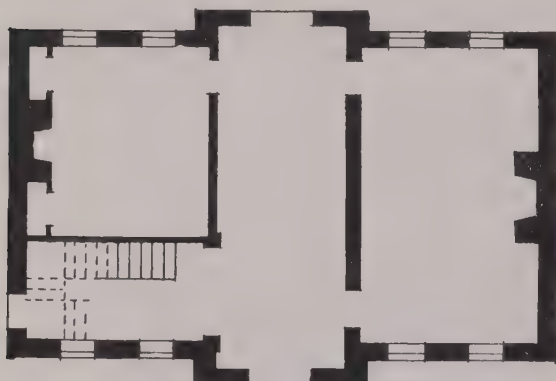


FIG. 4a. — Plan of Mount Pleasant, Philadelphia, Pa.

religionists settled on the York and Rappahannock Rivers. In 1629 a large group of Huguenots appear to have settled in Nansemond County, but nothing is known of their subsequent history or fate.¹⁰ It may be to them that we owe the extraordinary mediaeval church of St. Lukes, Isle of Wight County,¹¹ close to the Nansemond borders. Its traditional date is 1632, but competent authorities have held that the state of the colony, ten years after the great Indian massacre, could not have sustained the building of such a structure. However, a large group of Huguenot refugees, among whom were competent craftsmen, might have accounted for the building, and its East Anglian characteristics may really be French. The use of brick "*châînes*" instead of quoins at the corner of the tower might indicate this, as in England they are rare, but in France customary. The *oeil-de-boeuf* windows in the lower stage of the tower are also a characteristic of French work of this period rather than English. The crow-stepped gable, brick-traceried windows and steeply weathered buttresses have as much the character of Pas-de-Calais¹² as East Anglia.

In 1700 one of the few large groups of French Protestant settlers to come to the American colonies to dwell together in a previously selected spot, came to Virginia and settled at Manakintown, above the falls of the James River.¹³ This settlement was made under the auspices of the British and Virginia governments, but never prospered as it should, and gradually fell apart, the refugees emigrating to other areas, especially the Rappahannock and Roanoke River Valleys. A late house, Keswick, near Huguenot Springs, Virginia, possesses the double parlor plan with twin front doors, as does a Classic Revival house, Bolling Island, in Goochland County.¹⁴ In the

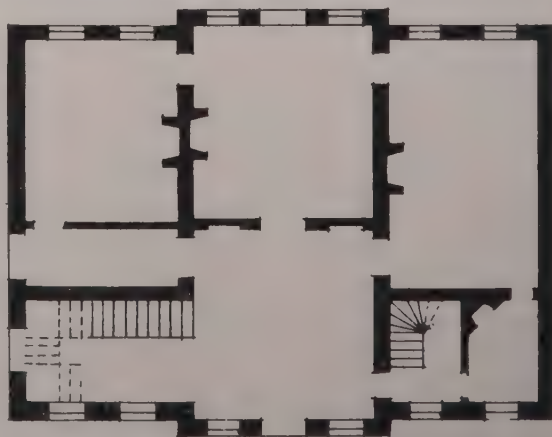


FIG. 4b. — Daniel Marot. — Plan for a small mansion.

10. LUCIAN J. FOSDICK, *French blood in America*, New York, 1906, p. 348.

11. See: *Historic American buildings survey*, Library of Congress.

12. For examples see: HAROLD DONALDSON EBERLEIN and ROGER WEARNE RAMSDALL, *Small manor houses and farmsteads in France*, New York, 1926.

13. R. A. BROCK, *Huguenot emigration to Virginia*, Va. Hist. Soc., 1886, p. 68.

14. See: *Historic American buildings survey* for these and other examples cited.

present Manakin (the old name applied to a newer town on the north side of the river) are a number of curious two-room houses with center chimneys, which may be the survival of a type employed at Manakin. At Sabot, nearby, there is also a good specimen.

At South Hill, Virginia, and in adjacent North Carolina are a number of simple frame houses as yet not completely studied which possess the feature of weathered offsets in the projecting brick chimneys, which display "tumbling"; and in Virginia on the Rappahannock River, at Port Royal, Tappahannock and Lancaster, larger scale houses, some with gambrel roofs, show richly worked brick chimneystacks with tumbling. A recently destroyed example of the latter was the Hughlett house at Lancaster. Near Port Micou, a plantation east of Port Royal, patented by Jean Micou of Nantes about 1700,¹⁵ is a fine old barn with curiously foreign features including a vast hipped roof, which, in the French manner, has low pitches from front and rear walls to the ridge and very much steeper end pitches. This is the only example known to the writer on the eastern seaboard, though examples abound in Canada, Louisiana, Missouri and the French West Indies.¹⁶

A highly concentrated area of French influence is in Bergen County, New Jersey. Here David Demarest settled in 1678, with other French emigrés including Nicholas Durie, Daniel du Voor, Audries Tiebout and Daniel Rebout. Demarest was a native of Beauchamps in Picardy and emigrated to Middleburg on the Island of Walcheren Zeeland. He first settled on Staten Island in 1663, but bought the Hackensack tract from the Tappan Indians in 1677. These French settlers were engulfed in an emigration of the Dutch from New York, and after 1696 were rapidly assimilated by them, even their names being given Dutch forms.¹⁷

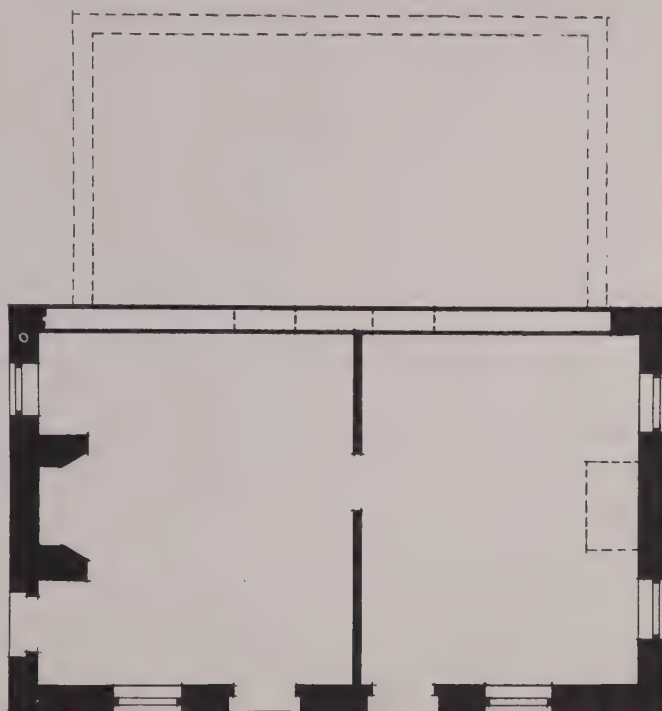


FIG. 5. — Plan of the Demarest House (1686 et sq.), Hackensack, N. J.

15. BROCK, *op cit.*, p. XVII.

16. CHARLES EMIL PETERSON, *Early Ste. Geneviève and its architecture*, in: "Missouri Historical Review" XXXV, #2, pp. 207-232, January, 1941.

17. DAVID O. DEMAREST, *The Huguenots of Hackensack*, New Brunswick, N. J., 1886, pp. 5-7.

David Demarest left his first dwelling about 1686, when he moved across the Hackensack River. An old stone house stands on the latter site, with the two-room, two-door plan, but it is obviously of XVIII Century date. However, recent excavations show that his 1686 dwelling stood immediately behind the present house, the front wall of the earlier building forming the rear wall of the extant house. This is now a framed wall with wood weatherboards, but originally this and the other three walls of the older house were of logs set upright in the ground, as the remaining decayed butts show.¹⁸ This example of a house of vertical logs is extremely interesting as this construction was unknown to English colonists, their log buildings being built of horizontal members. However, the French in Canada and Louisiana built of vertical logs, calling this method *poteaux-en-terre*.¹⁹ As far as the writer knows, the Demarest house is the only structure of this type in the area of the American Colonies. Its existence indicates that this was a system used in France, not one created in the French Colonies.

A large number of modest stone dwellings stand in Bergen and Essex Counties with the two-room, two-door plan, many with gambrel roofs. This latter feature is not typical of Dutch-American building, occurring mainly in areas of French influence, and Bergen County, the most French of all in the Hudson Valley, has the greatest number of roofs of this type. They have become famous for the beauty of their profiles (Fig. 7), and are in great contrast to the more practical gambrels of steeper lower pitch seen in western New Jersey, Maryland, Virginia and in the Carolinas.

In addition to Bergen County there was a French settlement at New Paltz, Ulster County, New York, named by the settlers in gratitude for the refuge given them in the Paltz, or Palatinate.²⁰ In their houses the influence of the Rhineland apparently is dominant over that of France itself, and the type is more that which is familiar in the adjacent areas of Dutch settlement. However, the Hasbrouck (Hasbroucq) and the Bevier houses retain many early features worthy of study for their European antecedents, as does the Parcot house in New Rochelle.

In many cases buildings with features that may be considered of French origin cannot be demonstrated to have had original owners of French antecedents. In many cases the names may have been Anglicised, but in other cases, notably the Huguenot house in New London, Connecticut, the original owner can be shown to have been of English ancestry.²¹ In this case the original specification for the building remains and records that it was built for Nathaniel Hempsted about 1759. Why has the house always, within living memory, been called the Huguenot house? Very probably because it was built by French craftsmen for the

18. See: *Historic American buildings survey*.

19. PETERSON, *op cit.*, p. 217.

20. DEMAREST, *op cit.*, p. 6.

21. "Old Time New England", XXXIV, #3, Jan., 1944, pp. 44-48.



FIG. 6. — Haring House, Old Tappan, N. J. The "Huguenot" plan, with two front doors.

architectural pretensions. However, in one area of French settlement, the persistence of French influence was strong enough, and the citizens were wealthy enough to produce an architecture that has a formal French character. This, of course, is South Carolina.

The first large Huguenot group came to South Carolina led by René Petit and Jacob Guerrard in 1679-80. The colony in Charleston became the "richest and most populous center of Huguenot activities"²² and from it emigrated by 1690 a large number of French families to the Santee River area. These founded strong French centers on the Santee River, at Orange Quarter and St. John's Berkeley.²³ In 1712 a number of settlers from Manakin, Virginia, joined them under Phillipe de Richebourg, others from the same place having stopped at New Bern, North Carolina, where Huguenots from Switzerland had settled under the Baron de Graffenried.²⁴

In spite of the attempt to create a town in the Santee area, this was essentially a country of plantations, which produced, at various times, indigo, rice and cotton, all great money crops. Famous Huguenot names became associated with the plantations of the French Santee: the Marions of Belle Isle, the Porchers of Ophir

New England owner.

This resume shows that in areas where French refugees were domiciled in the English colonies, certain building features, unique to these areas, occurred and it may be supposed that they were actually of French origin. So far all of the structures mentioned have been of a primitive, traditional style without academic



FIG. 7. — An example of a Bergen County gambrel roof.

22. HIRSCH, *op. cit.*, p. 14.

23. *idem*, p. 23.

24. *idem*, p. 19.

(also of Mexico and Peru plantations), Ravenels of Somerton, St. Juliens of Hanover and Wantoot, the Mazijcks of Somerset, the Giguilliat and Gaillards of Dawshee, and the St. Juliens, Ravenels and Le Nobles of Pooshee.²⁵ French settlers were established at Pureysburg, South Carolina, by 1732. Thence they made further settlements in the Savannah River (Abbeville) and Altamaha River regions.²⁶

The French Santee maintained its Huguenot traditions and individualities longer than any other section of the country, many of the estates remaining in the hands of descendants of the original owners until 1939 when the great Santee-Cooper Hydroelectric and Navigation project claimed

most of them for the Santee and Pinopolis Reservoir sites.²⁷

In spite of the loss of early plantation houses from fire, neglect and savage destruction during the Civil War, a number of important examples remain, as well as a few early churches and ruins of others. All of these buildings show characteristics that place them outside the usual English style and within a real French colonial style.

The curious circumstance of this style is that while its dates are roughly from 1690 to

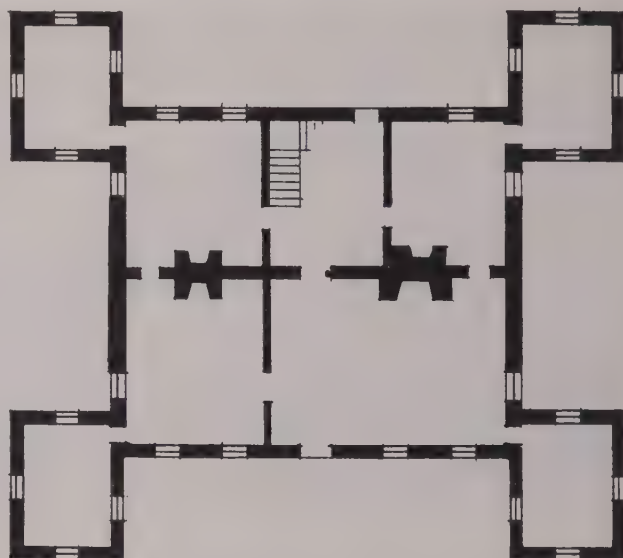


FIG. 9. — Plan of The Mulberry, Berkeley County, S. C.
Courtesy of Mrs. Albert Simons.

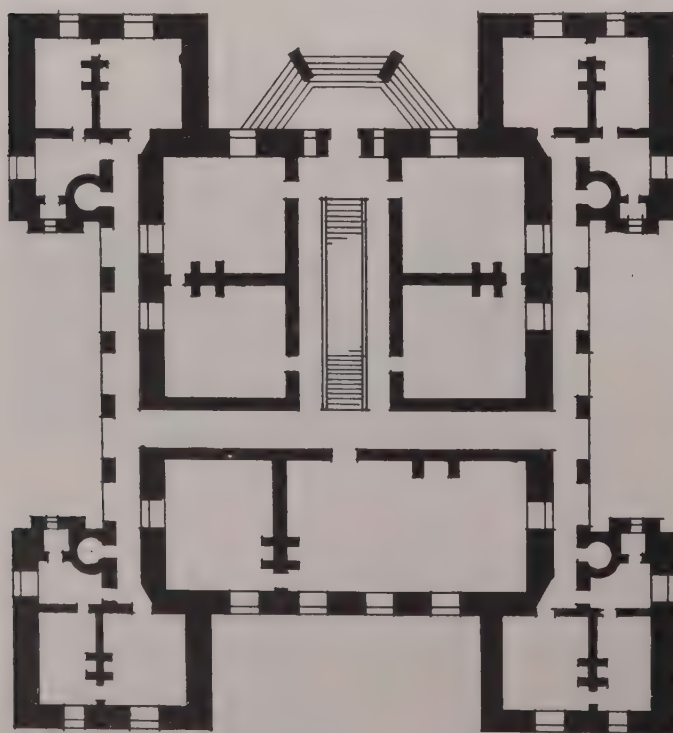


FIG. 8. — Plan of the Château de Challvau. — From DU CERCEAU.

25. *idem*, p. 27.

26. *idem*, pp. 37, 44-46.

27. See: THOMAS TILESTON WATERMAN, *A Survey of the Early buildings in the region of the proposed Santee and Pinopolis reservoirs in South Carolina, 1939.* (Fine Arts Div., Library of Congress.)

1800, with late examples up to the Civil War, its antecedents in France were of the period of Francis I, Henry IV and Louis XIII. Perhaps this is not unreasonable, for it was the great period of Huguenot ascendancy in France, and the style of Henry IV especially suited Huguenot philosophy. Too, the materials and craftsmen for executing the elaborate orders and rich detail of the reign of Louis XIV were lacking in America, even if the persecutions visited upon the French Protestants by the king would not have deterred their colonial relatives from em-



FIG. 10. — The Conference Gate (*Porte de la Conférence* or *Porte des Tuileries*), Paris.
From: PÉRELLE, *Vues des belles maisons de France*.

playing the current style. It seems possible that the refugees may have brought old architectural style books with them from France, as it is to one of these, Jacques Androuet du Cerceau's *Bastiments de France*, first published in Paris in 1573, that the plan of The Mulberry, earliest of the French Santee mansions, is here ascribed. This plan was based on the mediaeval castle plan of a block of buildings with towers at the corners, to command each section of the wall. Round towers, almost exclusively used in mediaeval castles, were also employed in the early Renaissance chateaux, Chambord being a famous example. However, as more sympathetic with classic ideas, round ones were replaced, with increasing frequency, with square ones, and these became important features in architectural design.

Concerning this period in French architecture it is said: "Of all aspects of



FIG. 11. — The Mulberry (c. 1714), Berkeley County, S. C. — Photo. Ulrich, courtesy of Dr. Fiske Kimball (*Habs*).

building in France, planning was the least affected by the Renaissance, especially in its initial stages, while throughout the XVI Century the modifications introduced were less in the actual arrangements than in the spirit in which the plans were conceived.²⁸

Most of the French chateaux were of such vast size that any colonial equivalent was out of the

question, but in the case of The Mulberry, one of the smaller plans illustrated by du Cerceau was apparently adapted to colonial needs and means. This was the plan of Challvau (Fig. 8), a shooting box probably built for Francis I, near Fontainebleau, by Pierre Chambiges.²⁹ Though very much larger than The Mulberry (Fig. 9), it possesses the same elements—a rectangular building (without the internal court common to these chateaux) with four rectangular towers, one attached to each corner. At Challvau these are divided internally, but at The Mulberry they form small single rooms. In each house the main block is subdivided in remarkably the same way: on the approach front are two rooms, one square and one a long rectangle, and at the rear are two square rooms separated by a stair hall. At Challvau there was a cross hall between the front and rear sections, but at The Mulberry this was omitted. Even in the location of chimneys, doors and windows there is a remarkable parallel, though, due to the large size of the French example, these features were more numerous than in the American one. Another chateau with much the same plan was La Muette, probably also built for Francis I by Chambiges, though the two unequal rooms are replaced by two of equal size and the whole remaining area of the main block forms one large hall.³⁰

The elevations of Challvau and La Muette are romantic and curious in the extreme, with arcaded galleries between the towers for circulation, a common device at the time, St. Germain being a surviving example of the type. However, The Mulberry followed other French examples of the style resembling perhaps

28. WILLIAM H. WARD, *The architecture of the Renaissance in France*, London, 1911, p. 16.

29. *op cit.*, p. 73.

30. *idem*, p. 73.



FIG. 12. — The Piccard House (1717), Basseterre, Guadeloupe, French West Indies. — Photo. by the author.

A remarkable advance of the latter building over the former lies in the design of the main roof, which is a gambrel, or mansard, instead of the steep hip of the French buildings. This roof type was known in mediaeval France, but it remained for François Mansart to formalize and popularize it. The earliest published designs for the construction of these roofs known to the writer are in Pierre le Muet's *Traicté des cinque ordres d'architecture*, published in Paris in 1647.³³ This roof-form was widely used in France during the XVII Century, but does not seem to have been em-

31. ADAM PERELLE, *Veues des belles maisons de France*, Paris, 16—.

32. *op cit.*

33. PIERRE LE MUET, *Traicté des cinque ordres d'architecture*, Paris, 1647, pp. 224-226.

most closely the *Porte de la Conférence* (Fig. 10) in Paris,³¹ which stood on the site now covered by the south range of the Louvre. This, and the closely related *Porte St. Honoré*,³² possessed square pavilion towers with ogival roofs pierced by cupolas, and had a rectangular main block covered by a high hipped roof. In both cases these buildings were two stories high, in contradistinction to The Mulberry's single story. The fenestration of the towers is similar, with a single opening in each face, but the central section of the French examples is only three motives in length, due to the broad central arch, while The Mulberry has five openings, two windows flanking a central doorway (Fig. 11).



FIG. 13. — The Mulberry (c. 1714), Berkeley County, S. C. (Detail of pavillion). — Photo R. W. Tebbs.

ployed, except in one or two examples, in the American colonies before 1700.³⁴

Perhaps the earliest example, the Tufts-Cradock house in Medford, Massachusetts, may itself have been built by Huguenot craftsmen, as the building has an aspect foreign to native work of the period and employs the *oeil-de-boeuf* window for the end bays of the façade. This roof varies from the full mansard in that the end walls fill in the roof profile while on most French examples, the slopes return across the end walls. A rare and charming American example is in the diminutive rice mill which stands at the foot of the great terraced gardens at Middleton Place, on the Ashley River, in South Carolina.³⁵

Normally in American work the full profile of the gambrel roof is seen in the

end walls, but a not unusual condition is for the upper slope to be hipped, therefore returned, while the lower slope is not. The Mulberry has this latter type roof, which may be a French mannerism. A roof of this form covers the Piccard house at Basse Terre Guadeloupe, French West Indies, which is dated 1717 (Fig. 12).

An interesting point of departure between French and English architectural design in the case of roofing is that the former treated each block or pavilion with an entirely separate roof-structure, though the adjacent roofs may have scribed against each other.³⁶ The English, on the other hand, designed the roof as a whole, to cover all incidents of the plan unless the towers or pavilions were raised above it.

The Mulberry is a remarkable survival of an important plantation house of a time when the French refugees were attaining their full stature in the colony. Through thrift and industry they had



FIG. 14. — Brick House (c. 1725), Charleston County, S. C.
Photo. Habs.

overcome the initial difficulties of establishing themselves in the wilderness and had accumulated land and capital to build comfortable homes with architectural

34. KIMBALL, *op cit.*, p. 45.

35. SAMUEL GAILLARD STONEY, *Plantations of the Carolina Low Country*, Charleston, S. C., 1938, p. 170.

36. WARD, *op cit.*, p. 221.



FIG. 15. — Château de la Haye d'Esquermes (1676), near Loos lez Lille, France.
From: *La Flandre et l'Artois*.

qualities that would recall their homeland. Who built The Mulberry, or when, is not satisfactorily documented. The weather-vanes bear the date 1714, which the architectural evidence would confirm, and at an early period it was owned by the Broughtons.³⁷ Was it built by a Huguenot and sold to this family, or was it built by a Huguenot builder for them? Its French origin has not been suggested until now, it having always been referred to as Jacobean, but the complete lack of designs of its type in England and the multiplicity of them in France, make it certain that the latter is the true origin.

The walls of the house are of brick laid in "English" bond, a course of headers alternating with a course of stretchers, which a distinguished English authority says "we appear to have imported from France."³⁸ This bond fell into disuse in England and the English colonies after 1700, appearing, except in extremely rare cases, only for basement walls, the rough backing of exterior walls, and in interior partition walls.³⁹ Flemish bond succeeded it, but as this was more widely used in England than in the Low Countries it seems possible that this is a mis-

37. STONEY, *op cit.*, p. 50.

38. NATHANIEL LLOYD, *A history of English brickwork*, London, 1925, p. 65.

39. KIMBALL, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

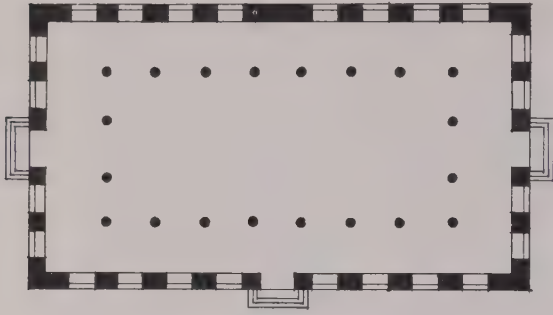


FIG. 16. — Plan of French Protestant temple at Charenton (1623, destroyed 1686).

origin of the pennoned weathervanes, with fleur-de-lis, pierced with the date 1714, is not entirely clear, such examples occurring in both England and France.

The Mulberry has gone through two modernizations, one about 1800 and one in recent years. The latter altered its appearance mainly by the addition of white paint to the old trim, by the new panelled shutters, as well as by the installation of modern conveniences. The earlier one was more drastic and involved the retrimming of the two front rooms. The new trim is of a type formerly seen in various of the houses in the Santee-Cooper area, particularly Ophir, Whitehall and Somerset. There is a wood dado with a delicately carved chair rail and a matching frieze to the cornice. The mantles have the pilasters and key-blocks familiar to work of the early XIX Century. Upstairs, fortunately, some of the early trim survives, mainly in a group of fine doors, though a familiar type of XVIII Century marble fireplace facing is found.⁴⁰

The doors are apparently unique in this country. They are panelled in a style found in regions of various influences, with a large square panel above and a horizontal lock rail panel below. However, these embrace a rare characteristic, in that the panelmoulds are raised above the surface of the door rather than sunk, and in addition, the panels themselves are beveled and raised. This combination may be found in fine early Georgian work, especially in New England, but a unique feature is that the center panel is carved with grooving to form a lozenge pattern in the panel. This complete combina-

tion too. In Dutch colonial houses, Dutch or English cross bond was preferred as late as 1750, and in many of the French colonial buildings here discussed, "English" bond was preferred even after this date. Except for the bond, the brickwork of The Mulberry is conventional, with ground brick flat window arches, except for the curious brick verge courses that parallel the rake of the roof. This is a novel feature. The

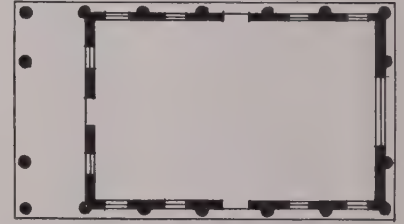


FIG. 17. — Plan of Prince William's church Sheldon (1753), Beaufort County, S. C.

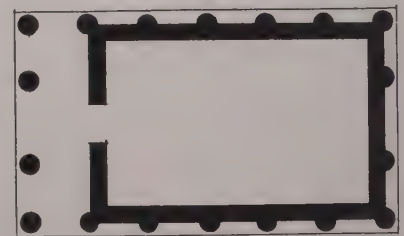


FIG. 18. — Restored plan of a temple at Tivoli.

40. STONEY, *op cit.*, pp. 102-107.

tion may be seen in work in the provinces in France,⁴¹ but so far, as the writer knows, there is no other example in this country. The doors are set in richly paneled reveals.

The most significant contemporary of The Mulberry was the not distant Hanover, built by Paul de St. Julien in 1720.⁴² In contrast, however, it had no academic qualities, being a simple framed house with vast brick-end chimneys and a gambrel roof. It was demolished for the creation of the Pinopolis Reservoir, and was rebuilt on the campus of Clemson College.



FIG. 19. — Pompion Hill Chapel (1763), Berkeley County, S. C. — Photo. Habs.

In detail, Hanover was particularly interesting, as it retained most of its original trim unchanged. The old sash had been removed from the windows, and the lower frames may have been altered, but the curiously mediaeval dormer windows remained (with modern sash), obviously designed for casement windows. The steep lower pitch of the gambrel roof is especially reminiscent of the mansard type. The great chimneys had many offsets and weatherings, and in the plaster cap of one of them the words *peu à peu* were carved. In France the Huguenots often carved Biblical or philosophical quotations in the structure of their homes.

In the interior, Hanover was almost ascetic in its simplicity but the great room, equivalent to that at The Mulberry, was finished on the two inside walls with wood sheathing overlaid with cleats to produce a large expanse of pseudo-paneling.⁴³ As in all the earlier Huguenot houses examined by the writer, the stair at Hanover was simple in the extreme, having only posts and rails without balusters. A characteristic of these early houses, especially in Virginia, was to run the stair between partitions, while houses of English origin had balustraded stairs.

Hanover had a plan generally reminiscent of The Mulberry, with two front

41. PHILIP LIPPINCOTT GOODWIN and HENRY OOTHOUT MILLIKIN, *French provincial architecture*, New York, 1924, pl. 84.

42. STONEY, *op cit.*, pp. 51, 108-110.

43. WATERMAN, *op cit.*

rooms, one long and one square, with a stair hall in the rear center flanked by two square rooms. There were, however, various asymmetries, and the chimneys were at the ends instead of in the longitudinal partition wall. This is very interesting as it seems to be a more primitive rendering of the plan of The Mulberry, which brings up the question whether Chambiges was synthesizing the traditional French cottage plan in his design for Challvau, or whether the Hanover plan was a vulgarizing of a plan of his own invention. In any case it was The Mulberry plan that was to be adapted (without the towers) to the smaller mansions of the XVIII Century in South Carolina. A variant was akin to the Manakin plan, with a chimney and entry between two rooms, and may be seen at Middleburg (1699), not far from The Mulberry.⁴⁴

The Mulberry plan is a more imaginative and more adaptable plan than the average English colonial room arrangement, where there was a central hall with one or two rooms on either side. In the latter case much space was lost to the hall and there was not as large a variety of room sizes. The Mulberry plan lost nothing of its privacy to members of the family, as it could be approached from either side. For occasions of state or for informal family use, the great hall (or drawing room) could be used as the entrance, but for other guests and callers on matters of business, the stair hall could be used. At The Mulberry and its earlier related houses, there was only one front door, but at Belvedere (c. 1790) there were exterior doors to both the large and small room. In the large group of early XIX Century dwellings in the vicinity of Belvedere (Santee Reservoir site), the unequal rooms became identical in size, with a pair of entrance doors at the center of the building.⁴⁵

The earliest and most significant of the early mansions subsequent to The Mulberry is the Brick House, on Edisto Island, south of Charleston. Its early history is obscure, but in the second quarter of the XVIII Century it was owned by Paul Hamilton.⁴⁶ The source of French influence, in this house is, therefore, a question, as it is in many others. Was it due to the owner, the builder, or was it a type used by persons of all origins (but based on the French) for the solution of the same problem?

Brick House (Fig. 14) is a remarkable monument in American architecture. It was built about 1725, and stood for over two hundred years, only to be burned in 1929. Fortunately the walls still stand, carefully repaired by the Jenkins family, whose home it was for almost one hundred and fifty years. The walls are more significant than the fine simple panelled interiors that it possessed before the fire, because they show the French origin of the design. The house, of

44. STONEY, *op cit.*, p. 47.

45. WATERMAN, *op cit.*

46. STONEY, *op cit.*, pp. 52, 113-116, also *Historic American buildings survey*.

brick here laid in Flemish bond, is two full stories high, rectangular in plan, 36'-4" x 40'-4½", once surmounted by a high hipped roof pierced by two tall chimney-stacks. The ordinance of the exterior walls is unique in this country, displaying Henry IV design at its best.⁴⁷

The corners of the building are enriched with large quoins, blocked out in brick and finished with plaster. The window openings are trimmed with diminutive applied plaster quoins (now largely disintegrated) with plastered flat arches and aprons. Strangely enough, there is no architectural basement or base course, but there is a richly moulded belt-course at the second floor line, and formerly there was a wood modillion cornice.

The façade is five openings in width, the lower central one being the entrance, formerly sheltered by a diminutive portico with square Doric piers supporting a pediment. The side elevations have a pair of windows on each floor, and between them a richly-worked central motive, all in plaster. This has an arched panel in the center on the first floor, with imposts, archivolt and keystone (worked with a mask) set against a broad flat plastered surface. This is pendant from the string course, but terminates near the first floor line in a scrolled apron. The motive continues from the belt course to the cornice, with *châînes* framing a rectangular panel with a rusticated flat arch over.

The comments of a historian of French architecture on the style of Henry IV are significant in an understanding of Brick House. He says: "The style . . . depends little, as a rule, on the orders. . . . It is above all a brick style, relying for its decoration on the combination of brick and rustication. Both had a utilitarian object. Brick was an economical material; coigns, bands and piers of stone served to stiffen and knit together the brick walling. Rustication under Henry IV was used in a characteristic manner. Not only was it applied continuously to entire basements and plinths, and to the coigns of exterior angles and openings, in courses



FIG. 20. — St. Stephen's Santee (1767), Berkeley County, S. C.
Photo. Habs.

47. *Ibid.*, pp. 52-53. MR. STONEY remarks on the "Gallic resemblance" of Brick House to the Place des Vosges.

of equal length, or more frequently alternately long and short, but lengths of wall were broken up by vertical stripes of rustication, similar to coigns, and known in France as *châînes*, while the dressings of openings were carried continuously from top to bottom of the elevations. Generally, too, the spaces of walling left between the *châînes* and strings, or between the upper and lower openings, were decorated in some manner. If in brick, they were often patterned with brick of another color, and, whether brick, ashlar or plaster, treated as in Francis I style, as a panel with a central motive which took the form of a niche or raised tablet⁴⁸ . . . a characteristic feature is the arrangement of windows in vertical stripes. (As in the Châteaux of Oyron and Azay-le-Rideau).

As the writer was describing an architecture of over one hundred years earlier, it is remarkable how these observations fit Brick House in almost every particular. However, it may be pointed out that in the minor architecture of the French provinces the style of Henry IV continued in use for a hundred years or so. An example dated 1679—the Château de la Haye d'Esquermes,⁴⁹ near Loos in Artois (Nord) (Fig. 15)—is a parallel to Brick House in so many ways as to be almost a prototype. However, the probability is that it is merely the result of the same style in the solution of the same problem. It is about the same size with the same fenestration on the façade. Full information as to the side elevations is not available but the rich design of Brick House does not seem to repeat here.

At the Château de la Haye d'Esquermes, the walling is of brick laid in English bond with cut stone trim, the corners of the building being treated with *châînes*, the windows framed with quoins, spanned by rusticated flat arches, and closed beneath the opening by recessed panels. There are moulded stone base and belt courses and a wood cornice. The doorway, central motive of the façade, is arched, with pilasters supporting a moulded and carved archivolt and keystone. Unlike Brick House, the chimneys occur in the end walls instead of in a longitudinal partition-wall, though the tall square stacks are of the same type. Both houses have high hipped roofs reminiscent of the lofty roofs of the period of Francis I, but which were used with lowered pitches at the same time as mansard roofs. A characteristic of these roofs was the flattening of the roof slope at the eaves, (called a bell cast) which was seen at Brick House and in most of the South Carolina examples. In New Jersey the development of the bell cast was carried to an extreme, which in many cases produced unique and beautiful roof lines.⁵⁰

An interesting variation between Brick House and La Haye d'Esquermes lies in the equal size of the quoins in the latter and the contrasting size in the former.

48. WARD, *op. cit.*, I, p. 220.

49. FERNAND BEAUCAMP, *La Flandre et l'Artois*, Paris, 1923, pl. 65.

50. ROSALIE FELLOWS BAILEY, *Pre-revolutionary Dutch houses*, New York, 1936.



FIG. 21. — The Tower of St. Georges, Dorchester church (1751), Dorchester County, S. C. — Photo. Habs.

In point of fact, to the critic the corner quoins at Brick House seem overlarge and the window quoins diminutive, and the treatment itself rather curious, but it should be noted that the same usage was employed at the *Porte St. Honoré* and in many other examples, showing it was a characteristic of the style. Another extremely important variation between La Haye d'Esquermes and Brick House, lies in the use of mullioned and transomed casement windows in the former, and double-hung in the latter. The former has been characteristic of French architecture throughout all periods, though lead came were superseded by wood muntins in the reign of Louis XIII.⁵¹

As the period progressed the casements became larger and the mullions and transoms lighter, the former being finally omitted. No French casements are known on the eastern seaboard of the United States, though there are numberless examples in Canada, and original casements remain at the Ursuline Convent in New Orleans and the Bolduc House in Ste. Genevieve in Missouri. There is, however, a mullioned and transomed frame in the ruinous tower of St. Georges, Dorchester, South Carolina (1754),⁵² which may indicate that casements may have been once widely used in early buildings of the area, but were superseded by double-hung (guillotine) sashes, and all old examples destroyed. This is not an unreasonable assumption, because leaded casements were used exclusively in all the American Colonies before 1700, but today not one remains in its original opening.⁵³ For reasons of climate and style, they were removed and the "new style" sashes installed. It is interesting to recall that "sash" is an Anglicization of *châssis* because in ancient days leaded glass was set into the structure of the building without a frame.

In plan, Brick House followed The Mulberry, and this room-arrangement became standard for mansions of its scale. Other examples are Crowfield, with simpler plaster decorations—now standing in ruins in the midst of a wilderness,

51. WARD, *op cit.*, I, p. 222.

52. See: *Historic American buildings survey* for examples cited.

53. NORMAN M. ISHAM, *Early American houses*, The Walpole Society, 1928, p. 43.



FIG. 22. — *Maison Carrée*, Nîmes, France. (Prototype of the Virginia State Capitol, see Fig. 23).

overgrown from perhaps the finest of all American gardens—Fenwick Hall, with its bold brick rustication, and Limerick, of frame, with important interior trim.⁵⁴

In ecclesiastical, as well as domestic architecture, there was definite French influence in the American Colonies. To appreciate this it is necessary to examine the design of the Protestant churches, or *temples*, as they were called in France. As there had been new monastic establishments at various times in the Roman Catholic Church, to restore worship to the simplicity and purity of Early Christian days, so was the same effort made by the French Protestants. Early Christian church buildings have often been called basilicas, but in fact, the submission of the Roman Empire to the Christian Church freed the temples for Christian worship though not the basilicas, which were used for legal purposes, and continued to be used for the same purpose after the Christianizing of the Empire.⁵⁵ The fact that the Huguenots called their churches “temples” is significant in this connection, as the temple-form seems to have been used for smaller churches, and the basilican for larger.

54. See: STONEY, for examples cited, pp. 54-55, and *Historic American buildings survey*.

55. JAMES FERGUSON, *History of architecture*, Dodd-Mead & Co., 1907, I, p. 506 (quoted from G. G. SCOTT).

There were two metropolitan churches of French Protestantism, the temples at La Rochelle and Charenton (Fig. 16). The former was designed in 1623 by Salomon de Brosse, who was a Protestant, as was also his grandfather, Jacques Androulet du Cerceau. This was destroyed in 1686, but its plan and elevations are preserved in drawings.⁵⁶ The plan shows the shift of emphasis in the Protestant Church from liturgy to preaching, by a great open building with galleries on all sides, and a preaching place in the center. It is said to have seated 3,000 persons. The building was rectangular, with a high hipped roof surmounted by a cupola, and had three tiers of windows which lighted the galleries. In the interior, the galleries and the roof were supported by heroic Doric columns that rose the full height of the exterior wall, with short piers above. Within the roof-space a barrel vault was contrived. The only suggestion that the building had a principal front was the omission of the entrance door from one long side. This placed the emphasis on the remaining doorway on a long side, and reduced the end entrances to lesser importance.

Probably the significance of this change lay in the most effective use of the preaching space, here achieved by bringing the preacher nearer to the center of the congregation. In most English churches of the late Stuart and early Georgian periods, the pulpit retained its old position at the right of the chancel, but in many American churches it was moved to the middle of the north wall; likewise in rectangular churches, such as Lambs Creek and Pohick Churches in Virginia, and in New England meeting-houses, such as the Old South in Boston.

It seems that this plan was reserved for the larger basilica-form churches, especially those with galleries; the "temple" form was for smaller parish churches. This latter type has the principal entrance at the west end (these churches were usually correctly oriented, with the chancel toward the east), often within a portico or porch, and two subordinate entrances at the center of the long walls. At St. James, Wambaw (French Santee), these latter are protected by porticos, but ordinarily they are less elaborate than the west doorway. The chancel was in the east end, with an altar table in the center, and a pulpit and lectern conventionally disposed.

The primitive example in South Carolina is the romantically situated and miraculously preserved Goose Creek Church, built under the direction of the Rev. Francis le Jau in 1711 and 1712.⁵⁷ This parish comprised both English and French elements, in accordance with the act of 1706, though in the neighboring parish of St. Dennis the people did not profess themselves of the Church of England until 1726, and retained the French language until the middle of the century.⁵⁸

56. WARD, *op cit.*, I., p. 255.

57. HIRSCH, *op cit.*, p. 70.

58. *idem*, p. 76.

The complete exposition of the temple-form type was in the Church of Prince William, Sheldon, long since burned and now standing in ruins (Fig. 17).⁵⁹ This is a remarkable structure as it exhibits the full development of the Roman pseudo-peripteral, tetrastyle temple of the type of the *Maison Carrée* (Fig. 22)⁶⁰ at Nîmes, where the Edict of Nîmes was promulgated. Sheldon Church possesses the same architectural feature of the cella walls treated with engaged columns uniform with those of the portico. The *Maison Carrée* is considerably larger, being five bays in width and ten in length, while Sheldon Church is three in width and six in length. This, however, is comparable to many classic temples, especially to a ruined example at Tivoli (Fig. 18).⁶¹ Sheldon Church is built entirely of brick, and the cella (or nave) walls are pierced for large windows, so the effect is not classic, but it is interesting to note that this building—fully temple-form, if the roof, now missing, was pedimented—antedates Jefferson and Clérissseau's Virginia Capitol⁶² by about forty years. This is called the first large temple-form building of modern times, antedating the great example of the Madeleine in Paris.

Other South Carolina churches of the same plan-type completely lost any classic flavor by departures from the conventional in features such as roof and wall treatments. The first, Pompion Hill Chapel (Fig. 19), was built by Zachariah Villeponteaux in 1763.⁶³ It stands little changed from the date of its completion, except for the blocking up of the west door. Here the walls are plain and pierced with large arched windows, but at the eaves is a full classic entablature. The vast roof is of a type familiar in England and France of the XVII Century, gabled, and hipped above the tie beams. The same builder, associated with the same assistant, William Axson, built St. Stephen's Church in the French Santee in 1767, and they produced an extraordinary fantasy for the exterior (Fig. 20). Though larger than Pompion Hill, it is still three by five bays, with the same arched doorways and windows. Here, however, the bays are laid off by Doric pilasters supporting the same full entablature. The great *tour de force* is the roof, a very large gambrel of true mansard type, which is received at the end walls by huge curvilinear gables. The effect, though hardly beautiful, is quaint and interesting in the extreme. The old church of Prince George's Winyah, at Georgetown, South Carolina,⁶⁴ has more successful curvilinear gables, but the west one is largely concealed by a tower. It is interesting to compare the latter church with the

59. STONEY, *op cit.*, pp. 166-169.

60. RUSSELL STURGIS, *History of architecture*, New York, 1906, Vol. 1, p. 348.

61. *idem*, p. 352.

62. KIMBALL, *op cit.*, p. 146.

63. STONEY, *op cit.*, p. 177-181.

64. See: *Historic American buildings survey*.

Paarl Church in the French Hoek section of the Union of South Africa, designed by Louis Michael Thibault in 1799.⁶⁵

These curious curvilinear gables are an architectural enigma. They are certainly the products of Huguenot builders, but just as certainly they came either from a long residence in the Low Countries before a final emigration to America, or else from builders native to the Belgian-French borders. They were never as widely adopted in France as a decorative feature, as they were in the Rhinish and Flemish districts and East Anglia in England. That the South Carolina examples are not derived from the latter area is amply demonstrated by the fact that



FIG. 23. — Virginia State Capitol, Richmond, Va., designed by Jefferson and Clérissieu. (First monumental temple form building of the Classical Revival). Photo. from archives of U. S. Army Signal Corps.

only one American example of English origin at present exists, Bacon's Castle in Surry County, Virginia, built about 1660 or about one hundred years earlier than the South Carolina examples. In South Carolina several exist, there being examples at North Chacan Plantation, Middleton Place, Prince George's Winyah, Georgetown,⁶⁶ and the ruins of the burned church of St. Bartholomew's Parish.

None of the country churches here cited have towers, though there are unusually fine examples in Charleston. However, the ruin of the superb tower of St.

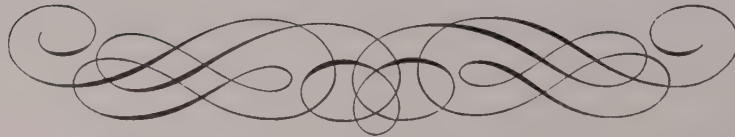
65. COLIN GRAHAM BOTHA, *The French refugees at the Cape*, Cape Town 1919, p. 32.

66. See: *Historic American buildings survey* for examples cited.

Georges, Dorchester (Fig. 21), still stands. It is laid in the "English" bond of The Mulberry and of Fenwick Hall, which, conversely, seems to mean that it is of French construction. This great brick tower is enriched by four heroic Doric piers standing on pedestals, which enclose the corners. They once supported a full entablature, and an octagonal lantern, which was extant in 1876, when a sketch was made of it.⁶⁷ The brick pendentives on which it stood still remain. If this lantern were covered with a dome, as at the Georgetown church, the effect would be quite different from that at St. Michael's Church, Charleston, and might tempt speculation whether this might not be a survival of the great French tradition of tower building that disappeared with St. Étienne du Mont. Certainly the beautiful towers at Bressuire and Loches in Normandy are suggestive of it and of such it is said: "The familiar lines of mediaeval towers . . . are reproduced in many Francis I examples. The main difference, apart from the detail, lies in the disappearance of spires and the substitution of cupola lanterns."⁶⁸

With the waning of the XVIII Century, the regional characteristics of American architecture were gradually submerged in a more universal American type, which became fully established by 1830. The individual characteristics of the builders of different origins, from the settlement to the Revolution, have never been fully studied. That there were many different regional manners is clear, and that their origin can be determined by study of their antecedents is becoming increasingly obvious.

THOMAS T. WATERMAN.



67. "Harper's Monthly Magazine," Vol. LII, Dec. 1875, p. 12.

68. WARD, *op cit.*, p. 97.



THE EVOLUTION OF MOORISH ART

MOOORISH art is chiefly known for its horseshoe arch and geometrical designs. Under Turkish influence, arabesques—floral and plant motifs—found favor in Algeria and Tunisia, and gradually took the place of geometrical motifs. Moorish art, however, remained practically free from Turkish influence and preserved its Hispano-Moresque characteristics. The Hispano-Moresque, or Mudejar, is the result of Moorish art meeting in Spain the Visigothic, which was a mixture of local, Roman, and Byzantine arts.¹ In Morocco, the geometrical continued to predominate, evolving into myriad variations of the fundamental theme.

1. See: P. RICARD, *Pour comprendre l'art musulman dans l'Afrique du Nord et en Espagne*, Paris 1924.

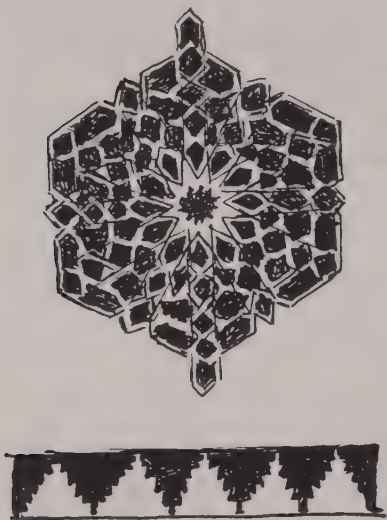


FIG. 1. — Geometrical mosaic of colored tiles decorating the sidewalls. — Mausoleum of the Saadi, Marrakech (XVI Century).

of Ictinus, which has not one straight line in any part of its construction.

Other cultures developed their art by reproducing nature in all its manifestations, as a great creative artist like Leonardo da Vinci might divide his background into geometrical spacing, then elaborate a limitless number of compositions. But the Moslem religion in its monotheism and its repudiation of symbols, forbade the likeness of animals and man in art; so the Moslem was limited to conventional design, its variations in a process of abstract thought, as opposed to the nature-realism of other cultures. Moorish art, therefore, came to be reproduced after fixed rules, within limits which could not be passed. The Koran speaks of statues as an abomination, but says nothing about the painting of animals or human beings. The religious authorities condemned it on the ground of tradition,³ probably a relic of the Jewish hatred of idolatry. The Iconoclastic movement in the VIII Century in Byzantium under Leo the Isaurian, also influenced Asia Minor⁴ and drove many of the best artists to Europe where they continued to carve their fantastic oriental designs of beasts and men.

At Persian courts and in India after the Moslem conquests,



FIG. 3. — Palmette or shell design. — Bab Aguenau, Marrakech, and Bab Oudaja, Rabat.

The geometrical is a first process in design, and every art development passes through a geometrical stage, an archaic style. In our day, Cubists with their solid geometry, discovered no new truth, but were in the primitive stage of plastic construction in their attempts to demonstrate the three dimensions. American skyscrapers are also in the first stage of development, depending mainly on geometrical mass and line, the zoning law giving many of them the appearance of groups of diminishing cubes. These might be compared to the cubic style of early Egyptian architecture. Charles de Foucauld's drawings show the pure cubic architecture of towns and desert villages of North Africa.² In contrast, the Greek ideal of harmony developed a curve, invisible to the inattentive eye, in its highest form of architecture like the Parthenon

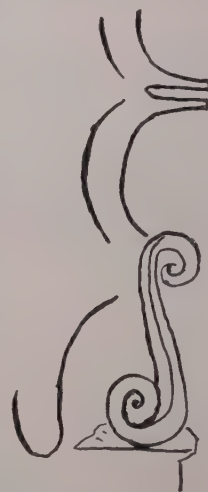


FIG. 2. — Serpentine motif. — Bab Oudaja, Rabat.

2. See sketches in: CHARLES DE FOUCAULD, *Reconnaissance au Maroc*, Paris 1888.

3. See the *Hadiith*, (Sayings of Muhammad.)

4. See: O. M. DALTON, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, Oxford 1911.

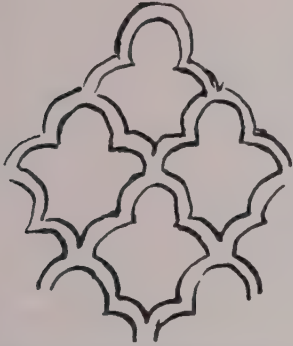


FIG. 4.—Lozenge design.—
Minaret of the Qasba, Marrakech.

artists illustrated manuscripts and decorated pottery with the paintings of animals, human beings, and even religious scenes.⁵ A favorite subject on manuscripts was Muhammad's journey to Heaven on the Burāq, or winged beast, a pilgrimage supposed to have started from the sacred rock which is in the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem. The Umayyad and Abbasīd sultans of Baghdad and Syria decorated certain rooms of their palaces with frescoes of human figures.⁶ There are human figures in some wall paintings of the Alhambra. Human figures were also represented in the Medināt ez Zahrī palace of Abd-er-Rahman, outside of

Cordoba; but all those sovereigns had renounced the austere and rigid Moslem rules for living. In Moorish art, a few examples of sculptured animals existed, such as the Lion Fountain at the Alhambra. Another one with stone lion and leopards, in the court of the Dar el Beida



FIG. 5.—Cufic writing.—Bab Aguenau, Marrakech (XII Century, Almohad period).

at Marrakech, which a XVII Century traveler described, has now disappeared. There is a rug at the Rabat museum with figures said to represent Ali and Fatima, son-in-law and daughter of Muhammad. But, as a rule, the law was strictly obeyed in Morocco. "*Il y a du péché,*" said the Sultan Moulay Ismail when he beheld human figures on some brocade sent by Louis XIV. An art so hampered could develop only to a given point, for it was the manifestation of a religion which planned life according to a system and discouraged initiative and individuality. The Moslem idea of predestination encouraged passive rather than active life, but the Moslem democratic idea of the equality of people outside of the religious governmental system, and its rules for temperate living, prevented Moorish art from becoming subjective and sensual (repression struggling for outlet) like Hindoo art "oppressed by caste system."⁷

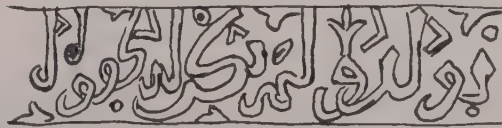


FIG. 6.—Cursive writing.—Mosque of Sidi Bel-Hasan, Tlemcen (XIII Century).

"These geometrical formulas rigorously applied," writes Elie Faure, "conducted the decoration, and, as a result, Arabic architecture to its death."

Wide horizons or deserts with the sky all around like a dome (probably the original inspiration of dome construction) encouraged inward speculation because

5. See: SIR THOMAS ARNOLD, *Painting in Islam*, Oxford 1928.

6. See: K. A. C. CRESWELL, *Early Muslim Architecture*, Oxford 1932, vol. I. Description of palaces of Mshatta and Qusayr 'Amra (Late Umayyad).

7. ELIE FAURE, *The spirit of forms*, London-New York 1930.

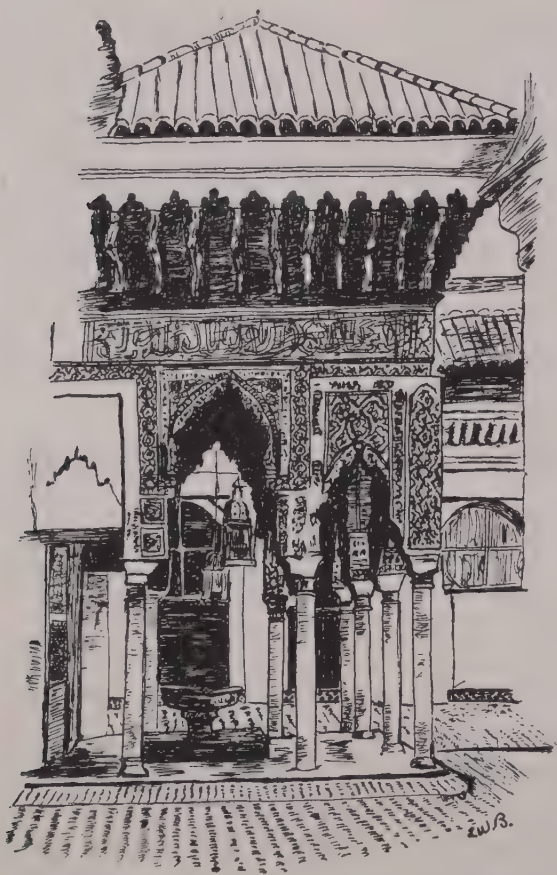


FIG. 7. — XVII Century pavilion in the courtyard. — Karouine (Qarawiyn) mosque, Fez (founded in the IX Century).

there were not so many plants, trees, and flowers to copy. Perhaps the Arabs used green tiles because of a love for green in nature of which they saw so little. And green is their sacred color—the color of the House of Ali.

Moslem art of North Africa owed much to Persia, Asia Minor, Greece, Rome, and Byzantium.⁸ The Arabs who invaded Persia borrowed partly from Byzantium and partly from Sassanian Persia, artists, workmen, and methods, which they spread wherever they went, through Asia Minor, North Africa, and Spain. Moorish art created in Spain the style called Mudejar or Hispano-Moresque, and this style in turn influenced all art in Morocco. It also crossed the Pyrenees and influenced Romanesque and Gothic art in France, bringing to it medallions of the IX Century and the trefoil, polylobe, interlaced, and blind arches, originally from Asia Minor and Sassanian Persia.

The principal features of the Mudejar were slender columns with capitals original and varied in design; horse-shoe arches both round and pointed; stalactites; paneling of carved stucco which gradually took the place of brick design; sculptured wooden beams which Henri Saladin, the French archaeologist, claims are of Byzantine origin; wooden ceilings carved in geometrical patterns; faience mosaics, and rich colors, especially blue, red, yellow. All these characteristics predominated from the XII to the XIV Century throughout Spain and continued in Morocco after the Moors were driven out of Spain.

The Moslems probably got their form of vaulting and their cupolas on pendentives—which they spread over North Africa—from Persia and Syria after the Arabian conquest.⁹ Perhaps the Persians took their cupolas from the Assyrians and Chaldeans. Fluted cupolas similar to the cupola of the Cordoba mihrāb, and prevalent in Morocco and Spain, came from Sassanian Persia. Greece, Byzantium,

8. See: GEORGES MARÇAIS, *Manuel d'art Musulman*, Paris 1926.

9. See: G. I. RIVOIRA, *Architettura Musulmana*, Milan 1914.

and Rome also used fluted cupolas. The bulbous dome of the Taj Mahal, those of the palaces of the Moghuls,¹⁰ those in Russia and even those in Sweden, were inspired by that of Damascus¹¹ which was destroyed when Tamerlane burned that city to the ground in his march across Asia Minor. Byzantium may have created it.

The Moslems brought from Persia both the pointed and round horseshoe arches, the ogee,¹² and the cusped. The pointed horseshoe reached perfection in Kairouan during the IX Century and appeared later in Moroccan mosques. The round and pointed horseshoes were used in south Persia in the V or IV Century B.C., at the palace of Feruz Abad. Cusped arches, common also to Mesopotamia, may have originated in India. The ogee was known at Ninevah and also in Persia before the XII Century, B.C. Aglabite Africa, in the IX Century, employed the round arch for big bays. In fact, its art resembled the Romanesque. "Of the

decay of Roman art would be born in Africa, as well as in Italy and Gaul, a Romanesque art."¹³

From Persia came twin windows like those of the Old Minaret at Fez; rows of decorated arches like those at Tinmal or in Almohad minarets; interlaced arches; and stalactites which penetrated into Spain, Sicily, and North Africa, reaching Morocco at Tinmal—the cradle of the Almohad sovereigns—the Koutoubia



FIG. 8. — Tiled fountain and entrance to the Neijarin Fondouq, Fez.

10. In: *Les Coupôles d'Orient et d'Occident*, M. ALPHONSE GOSSET claims that the bulbous dome came from India when the Mongols invaded Asia Minor and that after that it became the national style of both Russia and Roumania.

11. See: K. A. C. CRESWELL, *op. cit.*, for description by MARGUERITE VAN BERCHEM, of bulbous and fluted domes pictured in the famous mosaics of the Great Mosque of Damascus.

12. See: M. DIEULAFOY, *L'Art antique de la Perse*, Paris 1884-89. CRESWELL, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Chap. VI, says that the first examples of pointed arches occur in Syria. Gives example at church at Qasr Ibn Wardân (N. E. Syria) built before 561-564 A. D. SARRE AND HERZFELD in: *Archæologische Reise* say it is not pointed.

13. See: P. BLANCHET, in: "Comptes-rendus de l'Ac. des Inscr. et B. L.", 1898, pp. 520-21.

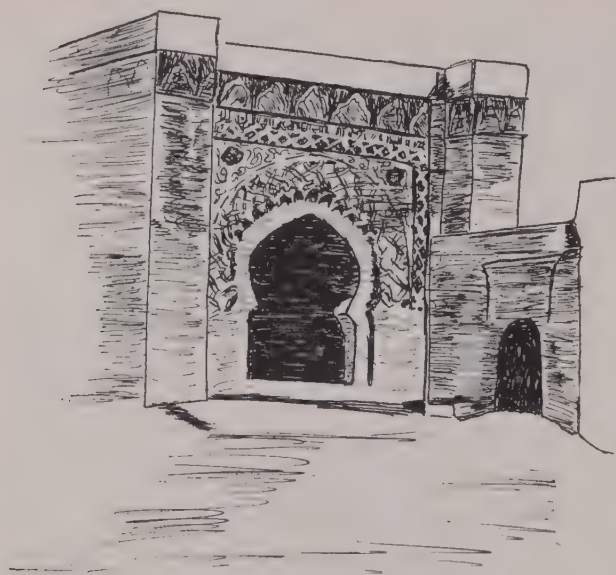


FIG. 9. — Entrance to the Qasba of the Oudaja
(XII Century).

Mosque, Marrakech, and other places during the XII Century.

The Koutoubia Minaret (Fig. 10) is rich in spite of its sobriety. It has been built of cut stones. Each side varies in decoration except for the rows of four interlaced arches above which is a marquetry of turquoise-blue faience tiles.

Besides the serpentine motif (Fig. 2) of the gateway of the Oudaja at Rabat (Fig. 9) which resembles that of Vitruvius and which, in different variations, frequently appears in North African decoration, there were many other motifs which the Moors derived from foreign

sources. Among them was the triangular merlon¹⁴ of Assyria, adopted by Persia and transmitted by her to Byzantium. It may form the crenellations of city walls and towers and palaces, or appear as a reciprocating black and white frieze¹⁵ along tiled walls as it does in the Hall of the Two Sisters in the Alhambra or in the tombs of the Saadi in Marrakech (Fig. 1). The same frieze ran across the upper part of the palace of Xerxes. Shell and palm motifs figure everywhere (Fig. 3). Together with the pine-cone, they form a classic design of the Merinid sultans.¹⁶

The Merinid Dynasty decorated its medersas like the Bou Inaniya at Fez and the Bou Inaniya at Meknes (Fig. 13) very elaborately. They are among the finest examples of Hispano—Mauresque style. The Merinids probably copied their Medersas or Mosque-Schools from the Madrasas of Asia Minor which perhaps derived from the ancient theology schools of Persia. They were built around a central court usually with galleries and rooms on three sides.

In Morocco, beautiful faience and enameled tiles of different colors—often of that rich turquoise-blue used in Persia and Babylonia, in the Blue Mosque at Broussa and the other Turkish mosques at Istambul—ornament minarets, foun-

14. Also called, stepped crenellations.

15. Ornamentation used also in Tibet; usually red and white but sometimes black and white.

16. See: P. RICARD, *op. cit.*, 1924.

tains, exteriors of buildings or the gateways¹⁷ of city walls, as at Meknes.

One of the jewel-like tiled fountains stands near the entrance to the Neijarin Fondouq at Fez (Fig. 8). This fondouq (an inn and storeroom for merchants) is several stories high with many rooms. Around its patio run tiers of balconies with elaborate *moucharabeyeh*.

It is reasonable to believe that brick geometrical designs and faience as well as enameled brick-work, originated in Persia or Babylonia where in early days bricks were the only material used for construction. Turquoise-blue ones decorated both the palace of Darius and the porch of Xerxes.

The capitals of Moorish columns are sometimes of classical and sometimes of varied designs. A typical capital is the palm with two divergent lobes, seen at the Tinmal Mosque built by the Almohads in the Atlas Mountains, south of Marrakech.

Architects sometimes divide mosques into two classes; the temple and the church. The mosques of Syria were often built over former Christian churches, but the first mosque¹⁸ was the Prophet's home at Medina—a typical Arab house built around a courtyard. When his followers assembled there to pray, they faced north towards Jerusalem, then the qibla (point). Instead of a mihrāb, a roof of woven palm leaves upheld by palm trunks covered this side. In some of the simple desert mosques like that of Sidi Okba near Biskra, columns of whitewashed palm trunks, going back to first principles, still support the roofs. Gradually the simple mosque at Medina, like the first mosque at Mecca, became transformed into a rich mosque, marble columns replacing the palm trunks. After quarrels with the Jews, Moslems no longer prayed toward Jerusalem,

17. Many Moorish gateways have zigzag passageways like the Puerta del Perdón of the Alhambra. These are sometimes called bent entrances and were common in Asia Minor and also known in ancient Egypt; two examples dating from the VI and XII dynasties still in existence at Kom al-Ahmar and Shunāt az Zebib. (CRESWELL).

18. First mosques simply marked out (ikhtaba), no building. See: CRESWELL, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, Chap. I.

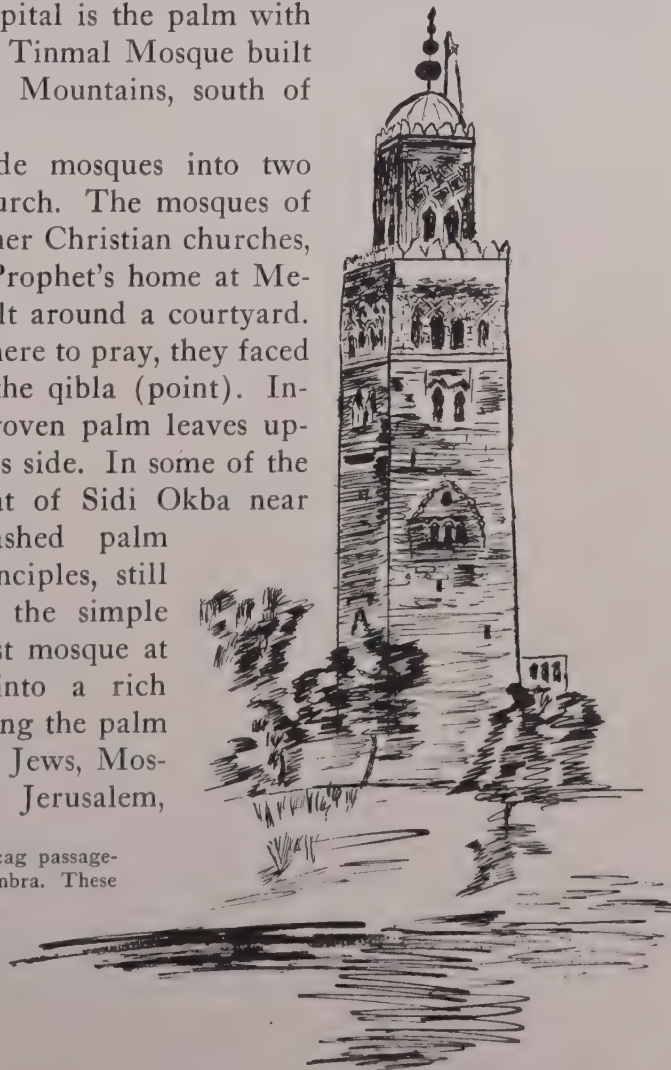


FIG. 10. — Koutoubia Minaret, Marrakech (XII Century, Almohad Dynasty).

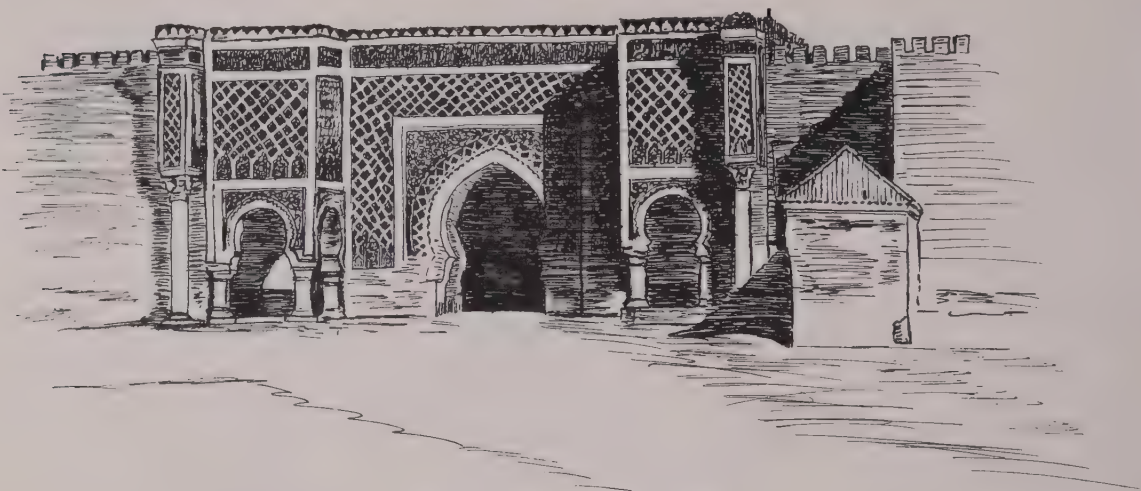


FIG. 11. — Bab El Mansour, Meknes.

but toward Mecca. The mihrābs in many Moroccan mosques and in Spanish mosques like that of Cordoba, face south. The reason has puzzled every authority; but surely it can be traced to several earlier mosques in Asia Minor, such as Mansour's mosque at Baghdad, or the Mosque of Ukhaidir (VIII Century) whose mihrābs faced south, Mecca being to the south or south-east. It is worth noting here that Gertrude Bell made a study of the palace and mosque of Ukhaidir and has drawn valuable plans of the ruins.

Almost all mosques of North Africa have naves perpendicular to the wall of the mihrāb, a characteristic which was probably copied from the Great Mosque at Kairouan. The Qarawīyn mosque at Fez, founded in the IX Century, is an exception to this rule, having, like the mosque of Ibn Touloun¹⁹ in Cairo, naves transversal to the mihrāb. A XVII Century pavilion in the courtyard of that mosque (Fig. 7) reminds one of the Court of the Lions in the Alhambra.

The plan of the Great Mosque at Kairouan, Tunisia, was the model for mosques in Morocco and Algeria. It is one of the finest mosques in existence both in its proportions and decorations, having the jewel-like perfection of some exquisitely carved ivory box of the XI or XII Century. It resembles the earlier Umayyad mosques at Damascus and Jerusalem, having a court with porticoes on three sides, then a hypostyle, rectangular room. The open court with colonnades was a survival of Semitic temples, also of Persian, and perhaps of Egyptian.²⁰ As the mosque developed, there were many analogies in construction and decorations to Persian palaces—for Persian influence was uppermost in the whole East until the taking of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.

The first mosques had no minarets. Muhammad's servants called to prayer

19. See: HENRIETTE C. DEVONSHIRE, *Eighty mosques of Cairo and other Islamic Mosques in Cairo*, Paris, 1930.

20. See: G. I. RIVOIRA, *Architettura Musulmana*, Milan 1914.



FIG. 12. — Qasba, Tâdla.

from Muhammad's courtyard. Then, as the community grew it was necessary to have a higher point from which all could hear. So the Umayyad dynasty (VII and VIII Centuries) in Syria, built square minarets like church towers.²¹ There is a theory that the Umayyads carried this idea to Spain from whence it passed to Morocco in the Tower of Hassan at Rabat and in that of the Koutoubia at Marrakech (Fig. 10). Minarets, however, have evolved into all sorts of shapes.²² The Ibn Touloun of Cairo resembles in plan old fire-altars²³ of Babylonia. The Alexandria lighthouse inspired others. Alexandria was a very rich Greek city, sophisticated and mundane, and a busy seaport for hundreds of years. It became a center for science and learning, to which the famous library bore witness. Its lighthouse, the Manara, built by Ptolemy Soter, was considered one of the seven wonders of the world. It gave its name to the Moslem mosque tower, the minaret.

Moroccan fortifications were similar to the Byzantine or Assyrian which influenced the Spanish as well as all European ones beginning with Richard Coeur de Lion's Château Gaillard in Normandy. The Persians built the same style. The strongest and most important of very early fortifications still extant, are the Byzantine walls of Constantinople, which are miles long, thus giving an idea of the size of that city when it was the splendid capital of Byzantium.

In the XI Century, the Almoravids erected strongholds in Morocco, but

21. The first minarets were the four ancient towers of Temenos at Damascus. See: K. A. C. CRESWELL, *Op. cit.*

22. See: K. A. C. CRESWELL, *Minarets*.

23. Called Zikkurat.



FIG. 13. — A corner of the courtyard. — Medersa Bou Inaniya, Meknes (early XIV Century, Merinid Dynasty).

few vestiges remain. The Almohads, who came after, constructed most of the walls of Old Fez, the Rabat fortifications, the Alcazaba at the Alhambra, and the walls of Marrakech. The best of the Sultan Moulay Ismail's (1646-1727) long chain of fortifications still survives at Tādla in the Middle Atlas (Fig. 12).

A superb example of the XVIII Century gateway is to be found at the Bab el Mansour at Meknes (Fig. 11). It was started under the Sultan Moulay Ismail just before he died in 1727. It was finished under his son Moulay Abdallah. Carved black enamel plaques frame the slightly pointed horseshoe arch of the passage-way. Above, incrustated in the network of lozenge decoration is a marquetry of dark blue, turquoise and green glazed tiles. This lozenge decoration (Fig. 4) in its many variations appears everywhere in Morocco, in mosques, on gateways and minarets. It, and the interlacing design of the central arch, were already in use during the XII Century. Across the top, under the pyramidal saw-tooth crenellations, runs a frieze of large black cursive writing which was in use since the XIII Century (Fig. 6) when Cufic writing, current in the XII Century, during the sober Almohad period, began to deteriorate.

Thus Moorish art, although hampered by religious tradition, developed within its given sphere, an architecture of great beauty enhanced by a richness and variety of decoration, seldom surpassed.

LOUISE WORTHINGTON BOOTHE.



A XV CENTURY BUST FROM MINDEN, WESTPHALIA, AT ST. PAUL'S PRIORY, KEYPORT, N. J.

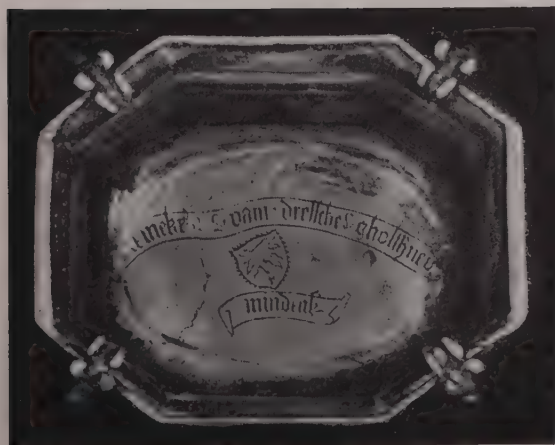


FIG. 1. — REINEKE VAM DRESSCHE. — Bust. — St. Paul's Priory, Keyport, N. J. (Detail with inscription.)

THE bust of a bishop or abbot, which is the object of the present study (Figs. 1 and 2) was bought in 1941 in New York. I could learn nothing of its history except that it came from a member of the Austrian nobility now in this country. It is today, together with some other remarkable objects of art which I intend to discuss at another time, at St. Paul's Priory, Keyport, N. J.

The piece, as shown above, is small: 5.50 cm. high, 3.55 cm. in breadth, 2.55



FIG. 2. — REINEKE VAM DRESSCHE. — Bust. — St. Paul's Priory, Keyport, N. J.

One cannot examine the bust closely without becoming convinced that it is the true portrait of some bishop or abbot. The expressive oblong face, the fine nose with somewhat extended nostrils, the energetic mouth opened slightly as if the prelate were in the act of speaking, the deeply-lined jaws, the brows knit in thought—all prove to me that the artist portrayed a person whom he knew well and had observed carefully. I might go further and add, that although the face is quite individual, it is typical of a man from the old Saxon country in Germany.

Both mitre and cope are typically Gothic. Since there is no trace whatever of Renaissance influence in the figure, we may rightly date it prior to 1500. For-

cm. in depth, and, although not a reliquary, is made in the form of one. Except for the head which is carved in ivory, the whole piece is of silver, the bust itself resting on an elaborate base adorned with four lapis-lazuli and four rubies. These stones are set in the uppermost and widest of three horizontal sections into which the base is divided. The smaller band below is decorated with garlands, and the lowest band with rosettes — a decorative motif repeated in the clasp of the cope at the breast, in a tiny band encircling the bust and meeting the base, and for the fourth time, on the seam of the mitre. The whole figure rests upon the backs of four little lions with flat, extended claws.

tunately the silversmith or goldsmith who made this remarkable piece, inscribed his name inside the bust: *(Re)ineke vam dressche¹ gholtsmied mindens*. He also engraved his trade-mark, as we would say today.

Do we know of the artist by any other work of his? Yes, very definitely. In the Berliner Kunstgewerbemuseum there is, or was, a richly elaborate clasp for a cope² which, in 1487, was made by the same goldsmith for Albert von Letelen, canon at Minden.³ The artist inscribed his name on the reverse side of the clasp (Fig. 3) as follows: *Reineke vam Dressche gholtsmied mindens*, and engraved the same trade-mark as on the bust. The clasp is larger in size than the bust—14 cm. It is of silver but gilded all over. Under a lavishly decorated ciborium is seen the Apostle Peter, the patron saint of Minden, with one saint on each side, both clad in the armor of knights. Am I right in assuming that one is Gorgonius,⁴ the second patron saint of Minden, and the other either Eustachius⁵ or Mauritius⁶, both of whom were highly venerated in the town and bishopric of Minden?

This second work of Reineke may help us in delimiting more closely the time our bust came out of the master's hands. Like the clasp which is certainly the more impressive work, the bust is the achievement of a man who knew his art. As small as it is, it shows the skill of an experienced artisan. It can, therefore, not be dated too far from 1487, the year the artist made the clasp. Thus we are justified in saying that it was made in the second half, or perhaps more precisely, in the last quarter of the XV Century.

Now we may try to answer the question: Who is the prelate whose features are so individually carved? Looking through the catalogue of the bishops of Minden, there are only two who could be represented if we assume that the bust was a present from the artist to one of them in recognition of favors received—

1. Concerning the name there is an interesting reference to its etymology in: GROTEFEND, *Die Chronik des Stiftes SS. Mauritii et Simeonis zu Minden*, "Zeitschrift des hist.—Vereins f. Niedersachsen," 1873 (Hannover 1874) p. 204: *In toto campo sancti Symeonis non segebantur segetes sed totus campus fuit dresch usque ad portam sancti Simeonis*. (DRESCH is the same as the English trash.)

2. Reproduced in: H. LUER AND M. CREUTZ, *Geschichte der Metallkunst*, 2d vol., *Kunstgesch. der edlen Metalle*, Stuttgart 1909, Fig. 387, p. 439. Text: p. 429 f., and in: A LUDORFF, *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmäler d. Kreises Minden*, Muenster i. Westf. 1902, plate 38, N° 2, Text: p. 78.

3. As the reverse side of the clasp shows: *Albertus de letelen canonicus eccleie mindensis dedit hoc monile. regescat i. pace*.

4. Gorgonius figures together with St. Peter on a seal of the cathedral chapter of Minden from 1227 (LUDORFF, op. cit., p. 66), shield and lance in his hands.

5. Eustachius appears together with St. Peter on a Romanesque cross in the treasury of the cathedral (LUDORFF, op. cit., p. 74).

6. Mauritius was the patron saint of the collegiate chapter of SS. Mauritii and Simeonis (see footnote 1). He is one of the famous martyrs of the legion of Agaunum (Saint-Maurice in Switzerland), patron saint of Burgundy and (through Otto I. and Adelaide) of Magdeburg, invoked in numerous medieval litanies of German and Gallic origin.

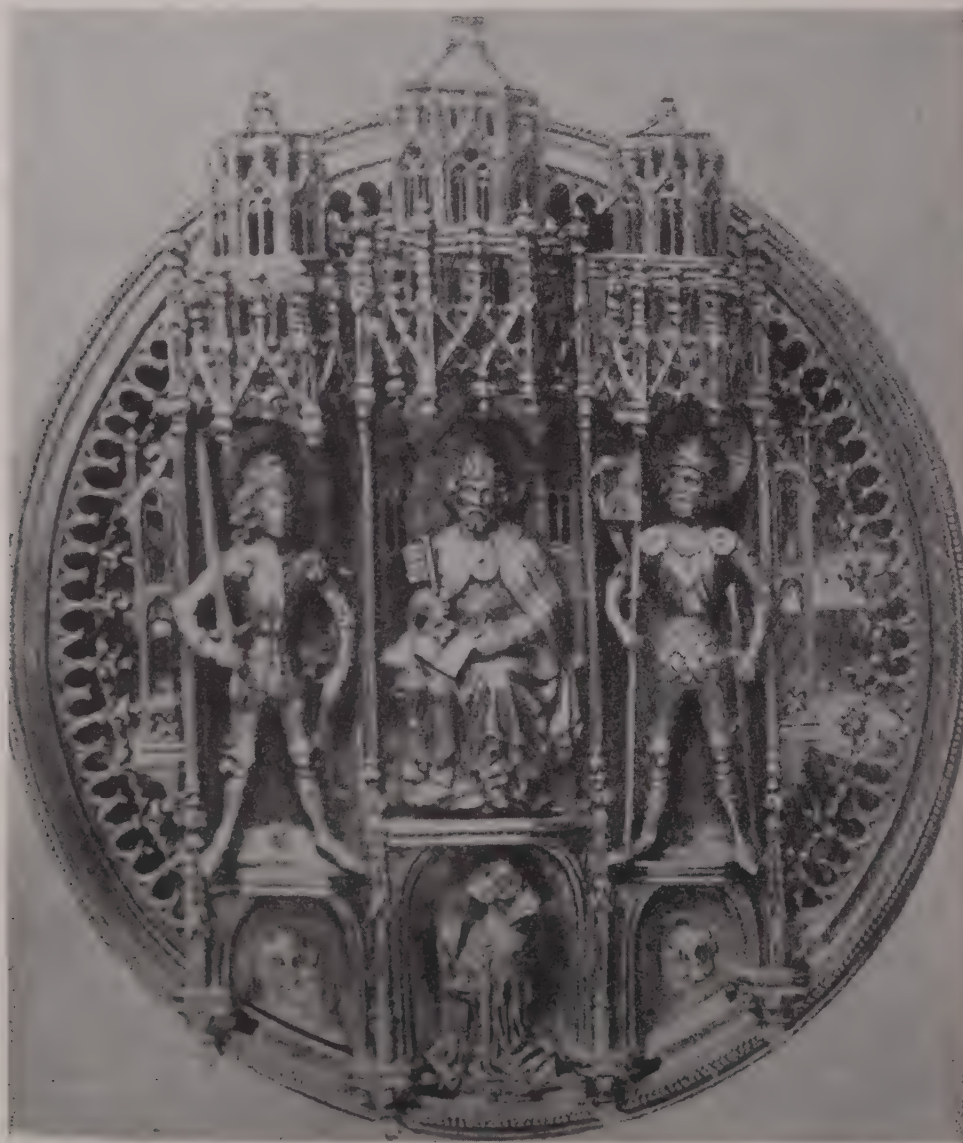


FIG. 3. — REINEKE VAN DRESSCHE. — Clasp for a cope. — Kunstgewerbemuseum, Berlin.

Albertus de Hoya (1438-1474) or Heinricus de Schomborg (1474-1508).⁷

I do not, however, exclude the possibility that it may be an abbot of the nearby famous Abbey of Corvey, from which Wulbrand de Hallermund (1407-1437), the predecessor of Albertus de Hoya, had come, and made himself known as a great patron of artists at Minden.

DOM THOMAS MICHELS, O.S.B.

⁷ HERMANN DE LERBEKE, *Chronicon episc. Mindensium: Scriptorum Brunsvicensia illustrantium*, vol. II (cura G. G. LEIBNITII) p. 203.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

California Palace of the Legion of Honor, Illustrated handbook of the collections, San Francisco, 2d ed., 1944, 6 x 9, 119 p., pl., ill.

Bulletin of the California Palace of the Legion of Honor Museum, San Francisco, Volumes One and Two, April 1943—April 1945.

The California Palace of the Legion of Honor has been known as a monument dedicated to the celebration of French-American friendship. Its interest as a museum of fine arts is less widely known, and deserves special mention because even war-time difficulties did not stop the growth of that Museum's collections or interrupt its activities. A handbook of its collections was published in 1942. An "amplified edition" of this handbook "has been compiled as a result of the substantial growth of the Museum's collections" and published in 1944. Thus the history of the institution and the collections gathered therein have become more widely recognized.

The foundation of the Palace of the Legion of Honor was due to the generosity of Mr. and Mrs. Adolph B. Spreckels who, in 1924, presented the Palace to the city of San Francisco in memory of the California victims of World War I, to serve as a museum of fine arts. The building is a replica of the XVIII Century Palais de Salm which has, since 1804, served as headquarters for the order of the Legion of Honor in Paris. The natural setting, in the spaciousness of San Francisco's land, sky and waters, offers to the replica a frame which the original building in Paris badly lacks. Thus, while the quality and patina of the XVIII Century stones cannot be rivalled by the new XX Century materials, the replica derives from nature itself a fuller expression of the beauty of its harmonious architectural lines and forms.

The collections of the Museum—paintings, sculptures and decorative arts—have been built up through gifts. Many came from French collectors. The French Government contributed its share "in recognition of the founder's deep interest in French culture". But for its nucleus we are indebted to Mr. Archer Huntington, Mr. Albert Campbell Hooper, and especially Mrs. Spreckels and Mr. and Mrs. H. K. S. Williams, not to mention donations of lesser importance. Tribute should also be paid to Mr. Thomas Carr Howe, Jr., Director of the Museum, for the intelligent and devoted part he has played in the development of the Museum.

The handbook, however, contains only a large number of reproductions of the major part of the collections and a comprehensive listing of the latter according to the various schools of art represented. For a deeper and scholarly analysis of the collections one should, therefore,

refer to the monthly publication of the Museum's Bulletins carried on since 1943. Each Bulletin includes besides a report on the Museum's activity and new acquisitions, a thorough study of individual objects of art belonging to the Museum. This periodical publication represents a most welcome complement to the handbook and it is most desirable that a new edition of the handbook should record the research gathered for the Bulletins, and the valuable information they contain.

The collections of the San Francisco Palace of the Legion of Honor, are young and, therefore, far less extensive than those of many other important museums in the country. However, if not as valuable quantitatively, these collections—the way they have been gathered, the criterion of artistic quality and documentary value which has determined the selection of new acquisitions, etc.—rank the Museum qualitatively high among American public collections.

We cannot enter here into the discussion of the particular pieces successively described in the Bulletins, such as the two companion portraits of a man and a woman by Nicholaes Maes; or the *Family group portrait* by Veronese; the *Philip Herbert, Fifth Earl of Pembroke* by Van Dyck; the *Endymion and Selene* by Michel François d'André-Bardon—"an important addition to the Museum's collection of XVIII Century French painting which includes works by Fragonard, Boucher, Perroneau and others"—; or the *Portrait of citizen Dubard* by Greuze; some British and American paintings which have a place in the Museum's collections; or any of the pieces and ensembles in the section of decorative arts which is quite remarkable. Nor can we give proper mention to the exhibits the Museum has organized.

Our aim is merely to arouse curiosity toward this young but notable new center of art in which the people of California—and, indirectly, of France—may take pride and which will serve to give San Francisco an ever larger place on the map of artistic pilgrimages.

ASSIA R. VISSON.

Jose Mario Velasco, 1840-1912, Exhibition organized by the Philadelphia Museum of Art and the Brooklyn Museum, with the collaboration of the Direccion general de Education extra-escolar y estetica, Mexico, D. F.—Philadelphia-Brooklyn, 1945, 7 x 10, front., 80 p., pl.

The catalogue of the exhibition of paintings and drawings of Jose Mario Velasco deserves mention even now, when the exhibition itself can no longer be viewed. Its abundant illustration is even more valuable now that the exhibition is closed as it permits those readers who did not visit the show to become acquainted with

Velasco's art through excellent photographic reproductions. To those readers who did see it, it offers a thorough and concise permanent record of Velasco's work and of the well-defined importance of his art. As pointed out in the foreword by ISABEL S. ROBERTS, Director of the Brooklyn Museum, and HENRY CLIFFORD, Curator of Paintings, Philadelphia Museum of Art, Velasco is "the foremost Mexican landscapist of the XIX Century" and "one of the principal forerunners of contemporary Mexican art". As is the case with most great artists, his art was fully recognized only after the painter's death. Even in his own country this occurred only after the Mexico exhibition of 1940 at the Palacio de Bellas Artes when President Camacho "declared his work a national monument". And the Philadelphia-Brooklyn Museum exhibition was the first to promote the understanding of Velasco's art in this country. It opened the way towards Velasco's world-wide recognition which we now see he so well deserves. Thus, HENRY CLIFFORD's *Note on Velasco's Paintings* takes on a pioneering value. This is a short but very sharp outline of Velasco's art and of those of his characteristics which rank him among the outstanding masters of the art of his time.

Therein he appears as a "painter of balanced serenity . . . never picturesque, never literary"; as an artist who "like Fra Angelico, who always started painting with a prayer, . . . used to read the Psalms before embarking on a major composition"; and, above all, as a Mexican artist, par excellence, untouched by any influences. Indeed, no foreign art had any impact on his work even though he did not lack opportunities of knowing it. Neither his trips to North America nor even his direct contact with the art of the impressionists in France could make him depart from the definitely individual and national line his art was following. In spite of this, HENRY CLIFFORD succeeds in drawing a parallel between the development of Velasco's art and the evolution of the French landscape tradition. Indeed, in studying Velasco's art now, one cannot help thinking of Corot, of Courbet, of Cezanne, of Henri Rousseau as successive landmarks of the evolution of that art. Sometimes one thinks even further back—of Moreau l'Ainé, of Claude, of Poussin. That one man seems to have passed by himself throughout all stages of evolution of several centuries of French landscape art. This he did, without wishing it, without knowing it. He remained the painter and poet of the Valley of Mexico—"his mistress" as HENRY CLIFFORD says.

The little essay devoted in the catalogue by CARLOS PELLICER to *The valley of Mexico*—"one of the major phenomena in the history of our planet"—gives a breathtaking picture of this great theme Velasco cherished. But, again, CLIFFORD remarks that Velasco's "Valley of Mexico is in the outskirts of Rome". It could also be somewhere in the outskirts of Aix, around the Mont Saint-Victoire. When a great artist paints a landscape, his personality meets the great masters of landscape of all times in the same search of lights and shadows, lines and forms, contrasts and harmonies. Whether they know one another or not, whether they are in Italy, in France or in Mexico, Poussin, Cezanne and Velasco are

confronted with the same problems, the same experiences, the same struggles. This is no influence, no relationship. This is what HENRI FOCILLON called—"coincidences". And the feeling of another great coincidence that Velasco's art so strongly suggests is, for us, his most precious quality. A. R. V.

Art Prices Current, A record of sales prices at the principal London and other auction rooms.—London, The Art Trade Press Limited, New Series, Volume XIX, XX and XXI.—

Extremely noteworthy is this record periodically published by the Art Trade Press Limited, of the principal art sales made on the British art market during a given period. Its usefulness is twofold; one, can already be measured today; the other will be more fully appreciated in the years to come. Indeed, the immediate use lies in the fact that each published volume helps us, so to speak, to take the temperature of the British art market. This gives an indication of what similar current conditions are in the world market—the London market being important enough to serve as a basis of judgment. True, the commercial value does not necessarily correspond to the esthetic, historic and intrinsic value of works of art. But a complete listing of accurate prices, such as this, made on a wide scale, does serve as a noteworthy indication of the relative value that should be attached to objects of various kinds of art. It also has a statistical value, thus serving as a sort of poll to determine the fluctuations in current artistic taste. Moreover, it provides an extremely handy repertorium for the tracing of various objects of art and for the study of particular artists, art schools, or mediums of art.

This precisely determines the long-range interest of that repertorium which will offer to future generations the privilege of finding with ease permanent records of important chapters in the life of the art of our time. The indexes to artists, engravers and collectors in Volume XIX, as in all previous volumes, enhance the value of this excellent source of information, making it especially helpful for current or future research in the writing of monographs or the making of compilations.

With Volume XX the importance of the publication has been most happily extended. While at the time of its founding in 1907, the volumes of *Art Prices Current* contained information on pictures, drawings, miniatures and engravings only, the scope of Volume XX has been widened so as to embrace new sections devoted to old silver, arms and armor, ceramics, sculpture, tapestry, furniture, glass, coins, medals, seals, etc. In addition, this volume provides the reader with even more extensive indexes to artists, craftsmen, periods, factories, collectors, etc., thus greatly extending its field and increasing its importance as a source of research. The same policy has been applied to the editing of Volume XXI, and will be applied to all forthcoming volumes which are bound to be anxiously awaited by all those who have been following the publication and have acquired the habit of keeping it on their desks among the dictionaries and other indispensable reference handbooks, for frequent consultation. A. R. V.

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

WALTER W. S. COOK took his PH.D. at Harvard University and traveled for some years in Europe, chiefly in Spain. He has, for a number of years, been Professor of Fine Arts in New York University, as well as Director of The Institute of Fine Arts there. He has published several articles for American periodicals and is a corresponding member of The Academia of San Fernando, Madrid. In this issue appears the first part of his study of *Spanish paintings in the National Gallery of Art: El Greco to Goya* page 65

THOMAS T. WATERMAN, architect, studied under Ralph Adams Cram in Boston. He has devoted special study to early buildings and their restoration, spent five years in Williamsburg, Va., on Mr. John D. Rockefeller, Jr.'s restoration project, and has been Architectural Director of the Historic American Buildings Survey. One of his recent buildings is the museum wing of the Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, Washington, D. C. Co-author of several books on architecture, he is now preparing a book on *The Mansions of Virginia*. The readers of the "Gazette" are already familiar with his research, another result of which: *French influence on early American architecture*, appears in the current issue page 87

LOUISE WORTHINGTON BOOTHE, educated in France, Germany and Switzerland, has traveled extensively throughout the Near East, especially North Africa, investigating the subject of Arabic art, and gathering material for the book on Morocco, its history and civilization, which she was then preparing and which is now about to be published. Her article on *The Evolution of Moorish Art* . . . page 113 and the sketches she has prepared for its illustration, are a result of this research.

DOM THOMAS A. MICHELS, O.S.B., Prior of St. Paul's Priory, Keyport, N. J., Monk of the Abbey of Maria Laach since 1911, studied at Rome, Muenster, Bonn and Breslau. Ph.D. of Bonn (1925) and Vienna (1933), he taught the history of liturgy and ancient religions at the University of Salzburg (1928-1938), then became Professor of history, St. Michael's College, Vermont (1940-1942), and Research Professor of Christian antiquity and liturgy at Manhattanville College. He is the author of several books and numerous articles on historical and liturgical subjects. In this issue he adds to his many contributions a study of *A XV Century bust from Minden, Westphalia, at St. Paul's Priory, Keyport, N. J.* page 123

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